

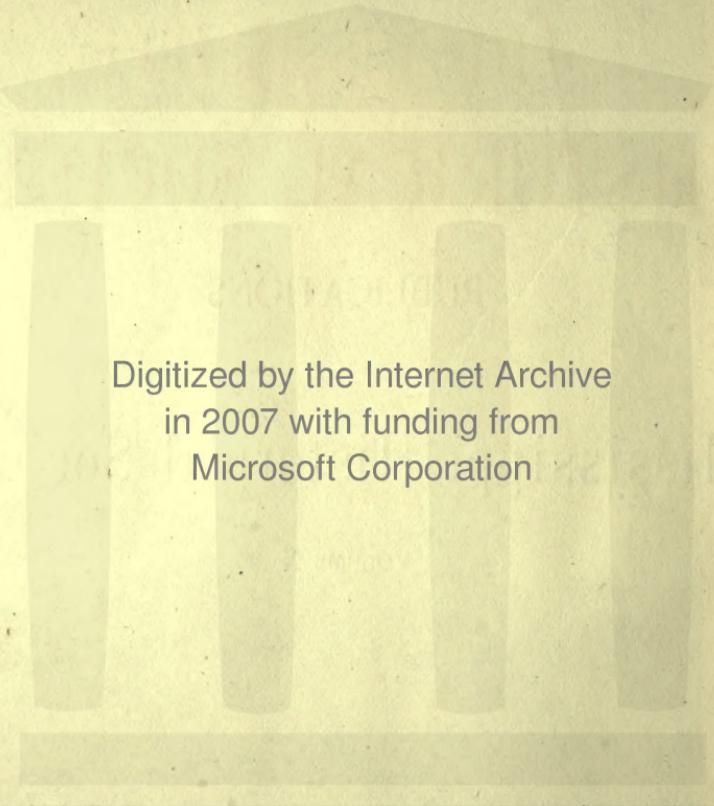
James Hugh  
Stephen D. Lee

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Mississippi Historical Society

VOLUME X

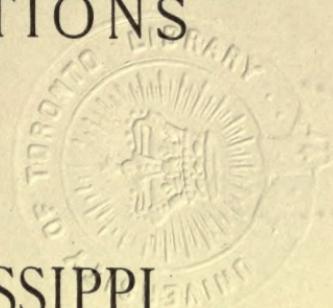


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# PUBLICATIONS

OF



## THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITED BY  
FRANKLIN L. RILEY  
*Secretary*

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VOLUME X

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## Preface

The publication of this, the decennial volume, marks the close of an epoch in the history of the Mississippi Historical Society. In order to unify all of the publications of the Society and to facilitate the work of investigators, much space is devoted herein to general tables of contents and to a combined index of the volumes that have been issued to date.

The reader will note with sadness the fact that this volume contains the last articles from the pens of two investigators, Gen. Stephen D. Lee and Bishop Charles B. Galloway, who have made many valuable contributions to Mississippi history in the decade that is now closing. In the lamented death of these great men, the Mississippi Historical Society has lost two of its most devoted officials, and the reading public has been deprived of the results of their further researches. An appropriate sketch of the life and services of General Lee will be found in this volume. The death of Bishop Galloway after the book had gone to press accounts for the absence from its pages of a similar sketch of this valued leader and distinguished man of letters. This important contribution will appear in the next volume of the series.

The attention of historical students is directed especially to the diary published herein, which gives an accurate insight into the daily life of a Mississippi plantation from 1840 to 1863. This is unquestionably one of the most important unofficial sources of Mississippi history that has ever been published. It is gratifying to note the evidence which this volume affords of the increasing interest investigators are taking in the local history of reconstruction in the State. Other valuable contributions to the military, economic, legal, religious, local, literary and biographical phases of State history will be found in the following pages.

F. L. R.

UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI, May 15, 1909.



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OFFICERS FOR 1908-9.

PRESIDENT:

\*GENERAL STEPHEN D. LEE, Columbus, Mississippi.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

DR. R. W. JONES, Laurel, Mississippi.  
HON. E. F. NOEL, Lexington, Mississippi.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

DR. FRANKLIN L. RILEY, University, Mississippi.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the officers.)

HON. J. R. PRESTON, Jackson, Mississippi.  
MR. JAMES M. WHITE, West Point, Mississippi.  
PROF. GEORGE H. BRUNSON, Clinton, Mississippi.  
†BISHOP CHARLES B. GALLOWAY, Jackson, Mississippi.

All persons who are interested in the work of the Society and desire to promote its objects are invited to become members.

There is no initiation fee. The only cost to members is, annual dues, \$2.00, or life dues \$30.00. Members receive all *Publications* of the Society free of charge.

Address all communications to the Secretary and Treasurer of the Mississippi Historical Society, University P. O., Mississippi.

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\*Died May 28, 1908.

†Died May 12, 1909.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE DECENTNIAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY FRANKLIN L. RILEY, *Secretary.*

The decennial meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society was held in the capitol at Jackson on the evenings of January 9 and 10, 1908. In the absence of the faithful and beloved President, the late Gen. Stephen D. Lee, the sessions were presided over by the First Vice-President, Dr. R. W. Jones.

In connection with the regular meeting of the society there were also held under its auspices two special conferences of history teachers on the morning and afternoon of January 10th. These conferences were held in response to an invitation from the Historical Society to the teachers of history in Mississippi and adjoining States, for the purpose of inaugurating a movement to improve the teaching of history in the South. The program of the conferences was prepared and published by the Society in connection with that of its regular meeting. Both meetings gave evidence of continued interest in history work in this State, and the results were highly gratifying to those concerned.

As was hoped by the Executive Committee the conference of history teachers resulted in the organization of a permanent Mississippi Association of History Teachers, the decennial child of the Mississippi Historical Society. In response to a request from this infant association the society has printed the proceedings of its first meeting as the initial number of a new series of bulletins. The Historical Society feels that, by the inauguration of this movement for improving the teaching of history it has most fittingly commemorated the tenth anniversary of its reorganization, and it hopes that this second offspring will be as useful in the furtherance of historical interests in the State as has been its first, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

Unfortunately the first session of the meeting of the Historical Society conflicted with a prohibition rally, which absorbed the interest of a majority of the leading citizens of the State. As a result of this conflict, the Historical Society postponed its

initial meeting until after the adjournment of the prohibition rally. This change necessitated an abridgment of the program of the first session, the time being devoted to a report by the Secretary on "The Work of the Mississippi Historical Society, 1898-1908" (see page 35), and to the reading of a number of communications of congratulation and commendation from men of letters in various parts of the Union, expressive of their appreciation of the services of the Mississippi Historical Society during the ten years of its greatest activity. These communications have been published in pamphlet form under the title, "Opinions of Men of Letters on the Work of the Mississippi Historical Society."

In the absence of contributors the following papers were presented by title and submitted to the Society for publication: "Aaron Burr in Mississippi" (see page 237), by Bishop Chas. B. Galloway; "A Chapter on the Yellow Fever Epidemic of '78" (see page 223), by Mrs. W. A. Anderson; "Jefferson Davis at West Point" (see page 247), by Prof. Walter L. Fleming; "The Life and Services of Judge Henry L. Muldrow" (see page 269), by Hon. Geo. J. Leftwich; "The Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Mississippi" (see page 203), by Rev. T. L. Haman; and "Yazoo County's Contribution to Mississippi Literature" (see page 301), by Judge Robt. Bowman.

The following committees were announced: Committee on Nominations—Hon. Dunbar Rowland, Prof. T. P. Bailey, and Hon. W. Calvin Wells; and Committee on Resolutions—President J. R. Preston, Hon. Geo. J. Leftwich and President B. G. Lowrey. The Society then adjourned to meet in the Senate chamber of the State Capitol Friday evening, January 10th, at 8 o'clock.

The second session of the meeting convened at the time and place appointed. In response to a special request, the Secretary again gave a *résumé* of the work and services of the Historical Society during the ten years that have elapsed since its reorganization.

In introducing to the Society Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, Dr. Jones, the presiding officer of the meeting, made an appreciative and gratifying speech, closing with the historic utterance of the beloved Lamar, who said of

the two sections that "If we know each other better we shall love each other more." In response to this sentiment Professor Hart expressed a belief that when men of the North and the South understand each other, they are not radically different in their views. His intimate acquaintance with the methods of work and the results achieved by the Historical Societies of other sections enabled him to speak authoritatively on the assigned subject, "What an Historical Society Should Accomplish." Professor Hart's address was replete with sentiments of good will to the people of Mississippi and of appreciation of the important work which their Historical Society has done. He made the gratifying statement that the work of the Mississippi Historical Society is attracting the attention of the entire country. He urged the preservation of manuscripts and genealogical data, and made a plea for more hero worship than we find in this prosaic age. Perhaps the most interesting feature of his address was his observations with reference to our economic, social and political conditions. His utterances with reference to the negro problem, based largely on recent observations, were particularly acceptable to his audience. He expressed gratification at the evidences of prosperity which he saw on every hand, and his surprise at the conspicuous absence of the so-called "poor white class," not a single representative of which he had then found after a stay of several weeks in this part of the country. Unfortunately this address, which was an *ex tempore* effort, is not available for publication by the Society.

Col. W. H. Patton, of Shubuta, then presented a paper entitled, "History of the Prohibition Movement in Mississippi" (see page 181). President B. G. Lowrey made a brief talk, asking for an extension of time for the completion of his investigations on "Some Historic Graves in Mississippi," stating some of the difficulties he had overcome in locating the graves of Revolutionary soldiers in the State. Hon. Frank Johnston made a report of progress in his work on "The Vicksburg Campaign" and expressed a hope, that he would be able to complete his investigations in a short time. President H. G. Hawkins gave an abstract of his "History of Port Gibson" (see page 279), and Mr. Fred M. Witty presented his "History of Reconstruction in Montgomery County" (see page 115). The following

contributions were presented by title, to be published in Vol. X of the *Publications*: Hon. Theo. G. Carter's "Campaign of Tupelo as noted at the time by a Line Officer in the Union Army" (see page 91); Mr. W. H. Braden's "History of Reconstruction in Lee County" (see page 135); Prof. A. M. Muckenfuss' "Development of Manufacturing in Mississippi" (see page 163).

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

(1) That the members of the Mississippi Historical Society gratefully acknowledge the courtesy of Chancellor Lyell in suspending his court to allow the Society to use the courthouse for the meetings of the Conference of History Teachers, and of the two branches of the Legislature in granting the use of their places of assembly for the meetings of the Historical Society.

(2) That high commendation is due Dr. F. L. Riley, the faithful and brilliant Secretary, who has made the Society and its work known throughout the Union.

(3) That the purpose of the Daughters of the American Revolution to mark the Natchez Trace commands our cordial approval.

(4) That the achievements of the Society fully justify the financial support granted by the State.

(5) That, as citizens willing to labor for her honorable history, we respectfully beg a continuance of the appropriation in order that valuable records still scattered through the State may be collected and put into permanent shape for preservation.

J. R. PRESTON, *Chairman*,  
G. J. LEFTWICH,  
B. G. LOWREY.

The Committee on Nominations presented a report recommending the re-election of all officers for the ensuing biennial period. A special vote of thanks was then offered to Professor Hart for the excellent addresses which he had made to the Society and to the History Teachers of the State. The meeting then adjourned subject to the call of the Executive Committee.

## GENERAL STEPHEN D. LEE; HIS LIFE, CHARACTER, AND SERVICES.<sup>1</sup>

BY DABNEY LIPSCOMB.<sup>2</sup>

"Gen. Stephen D. Lee, Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans, knightly gentleman and chivalrous soldier, beloved by every man, woman, and child in Dixie Land, answered the last roll-call a few seconds before six o'clock this morning. His death was painless and he passed peacefully into the Valhalla of the South's immortals."

Thus reads the first paragraph of a lengthy special from Vicksburg, Miss., May 28, 1908, to the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*.

"Whether on the field of battle, whether at the head of a great educational institution, whether directing the destinies of his old comrades, whether in the sacred circles of his home and private life, he was a conspicuous example of noble manhood. He left the impress of his strong personality upon the Southland, upon the hundreds of young men who were under him at the Mississippi A. and M. College, upon the church and personal circles where his usefulness and influence was spent."

Such in part was the tribute on May 31, 1908, of the editor of the *Columbus Dispatch*, a former A. and M. College boy, and later for years a personal friend and fellow townsman of General Lee.

From 1862, when chosen by President Davis to strengthen the Confederate army in Mississippi, to the day of his death in 1908, for forty-six years; the dominant purpose of General Lee's life was the defense in war and the upbuilding in peace of Mississippi, his adopted State since 1865. Moreover, as President of the Mississippi Historical Society from 1899 to his death, it is especially appropriate, that the record of the life and services of General Stephen D. Lee be given suitable space in the *Publications* of that society.

The writer very keenly appreciates the difficulty of the task assigned to him. Biography demands even greater accuracy and sounder judgment than does history, and the shorter the

<sup>1</sup> The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Miss Mary B. Harrison, sister-in-law of Gen. Stephen D. Lee, for valuable assistance in the collection of materials for this sketch.

<sup>2</sup> A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. III, p. 127.—*Editor.*

sketch the more discriminating must it be in its facts, thought, and style. Funeral discourses are generally subject to serious discount, and "to lie like an epitaph" is a well-known adage. If to paint the living object *just as it is*, true to life, be so nearly impossible, what of the effort to portray a life? The eccentric character, pronounced, definite, fixed, may be comparatively easy to depict, but the symmetrical life, simple, strong, and modest, growing richer and nobler with years, as was General Lee's, is baffling to the astutest mind and most skillful hand. Hence the reluctance of him who essays to draw this sketch.

From boyhood the writer has felt the inspiration of General Lee's brave, unselfish life, watching with interest and pride his noble figure whenever in school days it passed him on the streets of his native town. For thirteen years, as a member of the faculty of the Mississippi A. and M. College, he was intimately associated with President Lee, honored with his friendship and his confidence, aiding him often in his duties as Chairman of the Historical Commission of the United Confederate Veterans. Again, during the last three years, was the friendship more tenderly and firmly renewed, and truer insight into the character and greater admiration of the life in its totality have unmistakably resulted. Whether this cordial relationship tends more to qualify or disqualify for the work now in hand none doubts more seriously than he who undertakes it.

Eulogy will not be the purpose of this sketch, and flattery certainly will be shunned. Both were foreign to the nature of its subject in his life both as soldier and civilian, and, judging by the simplicity of his funeral obsequies, would be displeasing to him in his biography. Following a summary review of his life will be a succinct exposition of his most important services as a soldier, educator, writer, and philanthropist. Next will come an appreciation of his character, and then an indication of the hold which he gained on the hearts of his countrymen, South and North.

## I.

Stephen Dill Lee, son of Dr. Thomas and Caroline (Allison) Lee, was born in Charleston, S. C., September 22, 1833. His great-grandfather, William Lee, was one of the forty leading

citizens of Charleston seized by the British as hostages and confined on a prison ship at St. Augustine, Fla., until the close of the Revolutionary War. His grandfather, Thomas Lee, was a prominent United States District Judge during the Nullification days.<sup>2</sup> In early childhood Stephen D. Lee lost his mother, and in tender youth was sent to a boarding school. Owing to his father's limited means he found it necessary to begin early to steer his own course in life. Accordingly he applied to a candidate for Congress for appointment to West Point when he should take his seat in Congress. To one more certain of his election than was the candidate himself promise of the desired appointment was readily made, and later was cheerfully fulfilled.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, in 1850, young Lee entered the West Point Military Academy and graduated in 1854 with J. E. B. Stuart, Custis Lee, Pegram, O. O. Howard, and others. Six years of service on the Western frontier followed, as lieutenant in the Fourth artillery, combined with the more responsible office of regimental quartermaster. In 1857 he served under Colonel Loomis against the Indians in Florida. On the approach of the War of Secession he resigned from the United States Army and was appointed captain of the South Carolina Volunteers, and then captain in the Confederate Army. As aide to General Beauregard at Fort Sumter he, with Colonel Chestnut, demanded its surrender, and on the refusal of its commander carried the order to fire upon the fort.<sup>4</sup> From the surrender of Sumter in 1861 to Johnston's surrender in 1865, he served throughout the war with ability in every department—artillery, cavalry, infantry—in Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, and Tennessee, and was promoted on merit successively through every grade of military rank from captain to lieutenant-general. Jefferson Davis said:

"I have tried Stephen D. Lee in cavalry, infantry, and artillery, and found him not only serviceable but superior in all."<sup>5</sup>

At the close of the war General Lee made Columbus, Mississippi, his home, having married in February, 1865, Miss Regina

<sup>2</sup> *Lee and His Lieutenants*, E. A. Pollard, 1869, pp. 674-87.

<sup>3</sup> *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography. Confederate Military History*, Vol. I, pp. 688-91.

<sup>5</sup> *Lee and His Lieutenants*, E. A. Pollard, pp. 674-87.

Harrison, the gifted and accomplished daughter of Hon. James T. Harrison. They had but one child, Blewett H. Lee, who was graduated from the Mississippi A. and M. College, the University of Virginia, and Harvard University. After study of law in Europe, service as private secretary to Judge Gray of the United States Supreme Court, and practice of law in Atlanta, he became a Professor of Law in Northwestern University and later held a similar chair in the University of Chicago. Since 1902 Mr. Lee has been General Attorney for the Illinois Central R. R. Company, living with his family in Chicago.<sup>6</sup>

After fifteen years of military life General Lee was still a young man, thirty-three years of age. Blessed in his own home life, he looked with sorrowful sympathy upon the bereavement and desolation all about him. Resolutely he set himself to repair the fortunes of his own family and to lend a helping hand to others. Twelve years of private life he spent as a planter, unconsciously thus preparing himself practically for the work of industrial education into which, with his whole heart, he was soon to enter. For a short time, however, he accepted the office of superintendent of agencies for a life insurance agency, but the impaired health of his wife caused him to discontinue a business which required him to be absent from her so much of his time. Largely through her influence he soon after the war joined the Baptist Church, and began at once that active, devout, consistent Christian life for which for forty years he has been notable.

In 1878 he re-entered public life as State Senator from Lowndes county, and thus in another way acquired experience and formed acquaintances of great value to him in the performance of his future duties as President of the A. and M. College, to which post he was called in 1880. A score of years less one—he wished to make it a full score—he gladly, diligently gave to the education of the sons of his Confederate comrades in agriculture and the mechanic arts and in the sciences underlying these occupations, more than ever essential to the prosperity and development of the South. He also spared no pains to make available for their children the correct history of the causes, events, and results of the dreadful struggle between the

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<sup>6</sup>*Who's Who in America*, Vol. V, 1908-1909.

States. There was nothing perfunctory in his attendance on the Annual Reunions or work as chairman of the Historical Commission of the Confederate Veterans. Though none had accepted the verdict of war more faithfully and finally, few, if any, were so concerned that the great cause be truthfully and permanently recorded. His election as President of the Mississippi Historical Society in 1899, and as President of the Board of Trustees of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi in 1902, was a fitting recognition of his services to the State and his worthy efforts to transmit to coming generations a full and unprejudiced history of the War of Secession.

While college president General Lee also found time to help frame the fourth fundamental law of the State, the Constitution of 1890, which legally and peaceably settled the question of suffrage, fixed new limits on legislation and the terms of office-holders, and prescribed more clearly the laws regulating the chartering and taxing of corporations. He was a delegate from Oktibbeha county to the Constitutional Convention of 1890.

On May 1, 1899, General Lee resigned the presidency of the A. and M. College, having been appointed by President McKinley one of the three commissioners of the Vicksburg National Military Park. He now entered upon the last distinctive period of his life, in some respects the most interesting and important. Honors were pressed upon him, but the one which he prized most was that of Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans, to which office he was elected in 1904, on the death of General John B. Gordon. To the duties of this office he gave most of the greater leisure which he could now claim. Invitations more numerous than he could possibly accept were showered on him, urging him to address the U. C. V., U. S. C. V., and G. A. R. camps and reunions, U. D. C. conventions, state legislatures, colleges, historical societies, and other gatherings for the unveiling of monuments, décoration of graves, and purposes of similar import. Before the legislature of nearly every Southern state he stood and plead eloquently for an appropriation from each for monuments on battle fields here and there to mark the graves of their Confederate dead; and rarely, if ever, was his appeal in vain. Among the best of

his speeches was that delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of the monument to Jefferson Davis in Richmond, Va., and at the unveiling of the Confederate monument at Vicksburg. In all his utterances, particularly in later years, there was almost a tearful plea to the young to treasure the memory of their fathers. This they could do without treason to their great reunited country, which at the same time he besought them to honor and boldly claim as theirs, for their fathers had largely made it what it is. This was particularly true of his last speech of this kind, made to the faculty and students of the Mississippi Industrial Institute and College, May 7 and 8, 1908, on The Capture of Vicksburg. His tribute also to Grant's military sagacity and to the valor of the Union soldiers as well as to that of the Confederates, both alike now the heritage of North and South, was almost as impressive as his reference to the grandmothers of the girls before him, whose beautiful, brave lives he in a tender, fatherly way implored them to emulate.

During this period he became a national figure, with influence potent in every quarter of the Union. The invitations referred to indicate this, and more clearly still the esteem and friendship of President McKinley and President Roosevelt and many of the Grand Army leaders of the North. To the proposed monument to his memory, to be erected at Vicksburg, Northern states have contributed almost as generously as Southern.

Exhausted by the address of welcome made at Vicksburg on May 22d to the survivors of Lawler's Brigade, his foes forty-five years before on that historic battle ground, he succumbed gradually to the effects of the exertion and the heat of the day, until death came to him early in the morning of May 28, 1908. Fit place in every way for him to die, and in what nobler cause could his last energies have been expended! By special train, with military escort, and accompanying representatives of the State government, the Park Commission, U. C. V. and U. D. C. officials, and other distinguished citizens as mourners, the remains of the noble Southern chieftain were borne by his stricken son and kindred back to Columbus, Miss., for burial. From the family residence on May 30th, at 4 p. m., the simple funeral services were held; Gen. Clement A. Evans, on behalf of the Confederate Veterans, making the chief address. Then

the casket, wrapped in a Confederate flag, was gently lifted and borne away to its last resting place. Following it as honorary pallbearers were Governor Noel and other State officials, the Military Park Commissioners, Department and Division Commanders of the Confederate Veterans, representatives of the State National Guard and other orders, civic and military. Never was such a funeral held in that little city. Through streets lined with his sorrowful fellow-townsman, the long procession of carriages, of veterans, military escorts, cadets of the A. and M. College, students of the Industrial Institute and College, and countless friends, thousands in all, slowly moved toward Friendship Cemetery by buildings draped in mourning and past the United States flag at half-mast by the order of President Roosevelt. With military honors, volleys fired and taps sounded by the cadets of his own loved A. and M. College, the body was softly lowered into the tomb at set of sun. Heaping the grave with floral offerings, costly and beautiful, which had come from far and near, the great throng, hushed by grief and awe, slowly and reluctantly dispersed.

## II.

As a soldier General Lee early attracted the attention of his superiors by his prompt and fearless performance of any duty assigned to him. Captain Lee in the battles around Richmond was complimented by Robert E. Lee for his activity and gallantry, and at Second Manassas as Colonel Lee, when sent to aid Jackson's thin lines against Porter's heavy columns, so effective was the assistance rendered that General Lee reported that "under the well directed fire of his batteries the enemy's lines were broken and fell back in confusion."<sup>7</sup> He "saved the day at Second Manassas," said President Davis.<sup>8</sup> At Sharpsburg he added to his reputation, and proved that he was a "born artillerist." When Jackson and J. E. B. Stuart, the following day, reported to General Lee that the enemy's right could not be turned, and Lee seemed still to be in doubt, Jackson requested him to send his most capable artillerist to investigate

<sup>7</sup>*National Cyclopedias of American Biography*, 1893.

<sup>8</sup>*Lee and His Lieutenants*, E. A. Pollard. *Confederate Military History*, p. 689.

and report upon the situation, without knowledge of previous discussion between the Generals. Colonel S. D. Lee was the one chosen by General Lee to make this report. It coincided with that of Jackson and Stuart, and on the strength of these reports Lee reluctantly withdrew that night across the Potomac.<sup>9</sup>

The war in the West was going against the South. The Mississippi river was almost open to the invaders. Vicksburg was threatened. Then, just after the battle of Sharpsburg, Mr. Davis requested R. E. Lee "to select his most efficient and accomplished artillery officer for duty on the Mississippi,"<sup>10</sup> and Colonel Lee, as "having no superior in the army of the Potomac,"<sup>11</sup> was chosen to help save the President's own State. Colonel Lee was promoted Brigadier-General November 2, 1862, and sent to Vicksburg. At Chickasaw Bayou, December 29th next, with 2,700 men he signally repulsed General W. T. Sherman with 32,000 men. At Baker's Creek, or Champion Hills, he was commended for heroic conduct by his division commander, having had three horses killed under him and been himself wounded in that sanguinary battle. Throughout the siege of Vicksburg he was constantly on duty at the front; his trenches at the surrender of the city being nearest to those of the enemy.<sup>12</sup>

After the fall of Vicksburg, with other prisoners he was exchanged, and, on August 3, 1863, raised to the rank of Major-General and placed in command of all the cavalry in Mississippi, with special orders to harass Sherman and defend the State as best he could. It was a hard field, with little prospect of glory or success, so inadequate was his force to the task assigned.<sup>13</sup>

The next April he succeeded Lieutenant-General Polk as Commander of the Department of Mississippi, Alabama, East Louisiana, and West Tennessee, with less than twenty thousand cavalry and a few scattered garrisons to protect this wide ter-

<sup>9</sup> *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War*, by G. F. R. Henderson, Vol. II, p. 262.

<sup>10</sup> *Confederate Military History*, Vol. I, pp. 688-91.

<sup>11</sup> *Lee and His Lieutenants*, E. A. Pollard, p. 679.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.; National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*.

<sup>13</sup> "Sherman's Meridian Expedition," by S. D. Lee, *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV.

ritory against overwhelming odds. Under his orders Forrest went against Sturgis, and at Brice's Cross Roads gained one of the most brilliant victories of the war. The outlook grew somewhat brighter. The rank of Lieutenant-General was conferred on him June 23, 1864, then but thirty-one years of age, the youngest Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army. In July General A. J. Smith moved out of Memphis with 16,000 men to crush Forrest. Lee and Forrest, with 6,500 men, encountered Smith at Harrisburg, or Tupelo. Their attack was repulsed with heavy loss, conflicting orders causing confusion in the plan of battle.<sup>14</sup> Smith reported a great victory, but did not dare attack Lee and Forrest the next day in line of battle confronting him. Instead, he retreated precipitately to Memphis, only to be rebuked by Generals Grant and Sherman and ordered out again to capture Forrest.

When Hood was placed in chief command at Atlanta, J. E. Johnston having been removed, S. D. Lee succeeded to the command of Hood's corps; and at Ezra Church, Jonesboro, and other battles around Atlanta fought his divisions desperately.<sup>15</sup> At Nashville Lee was to Hood what Thomas was to Rosecrans at Chickamauga. For two days his corps hurled back the charges of the enemy, and the day following the defeat repulsed time and again Wilson's fierce cavalry assaults. At 2 p. m. that day General Lee was badly wounded in the foot, but would not relinquish his command until 11 p. m. General Lee's corps was the only organized command for a day or two after the battle, forming Hood's rear guard.<sup>16</sup> He was the only corps commander complimented by General Hood. Cheatham's failure to obey orders to occupy the pike at Spring Hill was the great blunder of the campaign. In referring to this General Hood asserted, that "had Lieutenant-General Lee been in advance at Spring Hill Schofield's army never would have passed that point," but, as he confidently believed, "would

<sup>14</sup>"The Battle of Tupelo," by S. D. Lee, *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV; *Life of Gen. N. B. Forrest*, by J. A. Wyeth, Ch. XVI.

<sup>15</sup>*Confederate Military History*, Vol. I, pp. 688-91; "Memorial Addresses," by Cols. W. A. Montgomery and E. L. Russell, *Confederate Veterans' Reunion*, June, 1908.

<sup>16</sup>*National Cyclopedic History of American Biography*; *Cyclopedic History of Mississippi*, by Dunbar Rowland, pp. 69-70.

have been enveloped, routed, and captured." "Lieutenant-General Lee and the corps commanded by him deserves great credit," General Hood states in his official report of the operations of the army of Tennessee.<sup>17</sup>

"General Lee was a strict disciplinarian, but his strictness was commended by his impartiality. He made no distinction against the private soldier, nor in favor of the commissioned officer. Hence he was more popular among 'the men' than among the officers. If all the officers in the Confederate army had been like Lee the cause for which they fought might not necessarily be epitaphed as 'lost.' "

This was written of Col. S. D. Lee, commander of the reserve artillery of the army of Northern Virginia. In his *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, General John B. Gordon adjudges "Stephen D. Lee a brilliant campaigner, pronounced by competent authority one of the most effective campaigners of the Civil War."<sup>18</sup>

### III.

One of the many newspaper sketches of his life thus refers to General Lee:

"When the surrender came at Appomattox he did not turn to the graves of the dead past for his inspiration, but rather to the living who were hopeful and God-fearing. He knew that neither tears nor regrets could till the fallow lands of the South, fill its depleted smokehouses, feed the hungry children, repair shattered fortunes, and lend a chorus to the songs of the fields."<sup>19</sup>

Truthful as well as beautiful are the sentiments thus ascribed to him. General Lee was one of the first of the Southerners to advocate industrial education; indeed, he has been entitled the "Father of industrial education in the South." Accordingly, when in May, 1880, he was called to the presidency of the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, he accepted it with hope and courage, but also with misgivings, for it meant a break with past educational traditions and systems. Opposition, too, was menacing, and he knew his own limitations. To the study of plans and the construction and equipment of

<sup>17</sup> *Advance and Retreat*, by Gen. J. B. Hood, pp. 287-95 and p. 332.

<sup>18</sup> *The Story of a Boy Company*, by an ex-Boy, 1885, pp. 75-76.

<sup>19</sup> *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, by Gen. John B. Gordon, p. 124.

<sup>20</sup> *New York Examiner*, May 29, 1908.

the college he concentrated and consecrated his energies of mind and body, and upon this institution he lavished the wealth of his heart to the day of his death. If a panacea could be found for the bleeding and prostrate South he was convinced that in the churches and such schools as this it surely lay. Not an iota from a strict interpretation of the charter of the college would he swerve, resisting stoutly every appeal to introduce the classics, philosophy, or whatever else might distract the purpose or slacken the emphasis and thus mar the results he sought, and believed would come only through a new type of education. In the sufficiency of the English language for all the needs of the average man, he had not the shadow of a doubt. Upon the teaching of better methods in agriculture to its young men and the dissemination of helpful knowledge through bulletins and institutes to the farmers of the State, he for years laid chief stress, always proclaiming the need and dignity of labor, especially skilled labor.

Clearness, thoroughness, and readiness, or "snap," as he called it, he constantly insisted on in his talks both to the instructors and the students. Though he maintained a firm military discipline, he was no martinet, it being as mild as was consistent with the purposes in view. He ever sought to instill a high sense of honor and truthfulness in the students, and marked lapses from these were punished with severity. He took special interest and often active part in the religious services held in the college, always encouraged and aided the Y. M. C. A., and in one of the great religious revivals, that occurred during his presidency he was painfully concerned until every member of the senior class had professed faith in Christ; for he depended much in his discipline and attainment of other results on the example set by the upper classes. His relations with his faculty and other officers were remarkably frank and cordial. He simply asked and expected results in harmony with his general purposes and plans, leaving each official largely to his own resources and methods, though ever watchful and sympathetic, ready to assist or advise when emergencies arose. To the utmost he sustained his subordinates, and listened attentively even to the youngest in faculty deliberations. For their promotion he kept an open eye, and would urge them to accept

better places elsewhere that might be offered, even though their leaving might for a while embarrass him. His report to the board of trustees was always read first to his faculty. No wonder that students and faculty were as a rule devoted to him, for he trusted them and sought their welfare more, apparently, than his own.

The board of trustees evidently left to him very largely the policy and general work of the college; meeting chiefly, it seemed, to endorse his reports and recommendations. What he accomplished with the meager support given to the college for years by the Legislature, and against the opposition of men of prominence and the indifference of even the farmers of the State, is no less than wonderful. That he remained at his post in 1888, when the appropriation by the Legislature was not more than \$25,000 and the salaries of the president and professors were in the bill reduced ten per cent, is due simply to his devotion to duty and love of the institution he had founded. Some professors resigned to accept more lucrative positions in other colleges. Not so General Lee, though urged by General John B. Gordon, then Governor of Georgia, in a letter dated September 12, 1888, to accept the Chancellorship of the University of Georgia with a salary of \$3,000 and a comfortable home, when his salary had been reduced to \$2,250.<sup>21</sup> He remained at his post eleven years longer, deaf to other attractive offers, and laid deep and broad and strong the foundations on which others in better times have built the more easily and successfully because of his arduous and self-sacrificing labors. Lowry and McCordle's *Mississippi History*, 1891, says in reference to the college:

"Since the opening of its doors it has been under the direction and control of Gen. Stephen D. Lee, to whose wise management, in great measure, is due its phenomenal success."

Fitting is it, that the great auditorium and administration building in progress of erection at the A. and M. College should bear his honored name. Generous and appropriate, too, are these words from President J. C. Hardy in a recent historical sketch of the College:

<sup>21</sup> *East Mississippi Times*, Starkville, Miss., Sept. 27, 1888, published Gen. Gordon's letter and commented on Gen. Lee's self-sacrificing declination.

"The success of this college is due and the good it is to do in the years to come will be due more than to anything else to the splendid foundation work done by Gen. Stephen D. Lee, its first president."<sup>22</sup>

"All over the South to-day are young men gone from his training who have nobly assisted in conserving the forces of nature, in making this country richer, more independent, more beautiful. Other States of the South, following General Lee's idea, now pay more attention to gardens, the dairy and corn and cotton fields than to the grosser things—like fighting for office and trying to be orators."<sup>23</sup>

"In the position of president of the Mississippi A. and M. College he has done remarkable work in building up the waste places of the South."<sup>24</sup>

#### IV.

General Lee rendered valuable service with his pen as well as with his sword. His College Reports to the Legislature are important contributions to the history of industrial education in the South. "The South Since the War," a hundred page review in Volume XII of *Confederate Military History*, is a thoughtful, broad treatment of the subject, which will amply repay the reader. It is his most elaborate and philosophic literary production. His papers in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* are better known and fill out in a way characteristic of the man, clearly, directly, and modestly, several chapters in the record of the war not before so well or fully written. In these papers he describes graphically the battle of Chickasaw Bayou, the Vicksburg campaigns and the Siege following, Sherman's Meridian Expedition, the battle of Brice's Cross Roads, and of Harrisburg, or Tupelo.<sup>25</sup> From first-hand knowledge and from careful study of the official reports on both sides, these accounts have been drawn in an accurate, judicious manner, and doubtless they will always be authoritative versions of some of the most critical and thrilling events of the war. They are contained in Volumes II, III, IV, and VI of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*.

Better known, perhaps, and more imperatively needed, most effective, too, in good results, were the "Reports of the Historical Commission of the United Confederate Veterans,"

<sup>22</sup> *Mississippi Register*, 1908, Rowland.

<sup>23</sup> *New York Examiner*, May 29, 1908.

<sup>24</sup> *Confederate Military History*, Vol. I, p. 691.

<sup>25</sup> To this list of articles may be added his last contribution, submitted to the Society for publication, which will be found in this volume. See *infra*.—EDITOR.

of which commission General Lee was for many years the efficient, enthusiastic chairman. Principally to banish from Southern schools histories containing prejudiced and inaccurate records of the War between the States was the object of the commission. Almost every United States school history used in this country was critically examined by the chairman of this commission or by those he designated for this responsible duty. How ere long there came to be Southern and Northern editions of certain popular school histories; and how, in recent years, for schools both North and South, one edition of these books, fairly impartial, is now published, is known to the well-informed. To correct also, the larger histories and to encourage the narration by Southern writers of the causes and events of the war and of reconstruction was a leading aim of the commission. The interesting annual report made at the reunion of 1908 by General Clement A. Evans, successor to General Lee as chairman, shows how satisfactorily the work of the commission has progressed. The reports appeared annually in the *Confederate Veteran* and in the daily and weekly press.

General Lee's published addresses referred to elsewhere in this sketch, as summaries of history and surveys of the present, received wide and favorable attention. Loyal to the past, yet living in the present and deeply concerned for the future of the South, they breathe the loftiest patriotism and point the way by which the South may retain its virtues, regain its wealth, and renew its influence on the life and destiny of the nation. In them he stresses and reiterates the necessity and the duty of real unity and harmony between the North and the South. These addresses, printed in numerous Southern papers, are the most finished and impressive of his literary efforts.

## V.

Very few of even the inner circle of General Lee's acquaintances knew how frequent and liberal were his contributions to patriotic and charitable associations, to churches of his own and other denominations, and how continuous were the appeals to his generosity from indigent veterans and others who knew the kindness of his heart. But for his timely pecuniary aid a

number of worthy poor boys would each year have had to discontinue their courses at the A. and M. College. No woman or old soldier who asked his subscription for a book of any kind or the purchase of anything that might be offered was turned away. Hundreds of dollars he spent annually in such benevolences, and during the last eight or ten years of his life his salary was poured out lavishly in the aid of good causes, religious, charitable, and patriotic. Eternity alone will reveal the extent of his liberality; he kept no record of it and made no pretense of being a philanthropist, than whom, however, Mississippi, in the correct meaning of the term, never had a truer or more open-handed.

## VI.

It is far easier to show what a man has done than to show what he is. Though the outward life generally reveals fairly well the man, it can never do so altogether. Few can stand a near approach and searching gaze. But if, as has been said, man is to be judged more by his ideals than by his achievements, by what he desires to be more than by what he is, the soldier, the educator, the writer, the philanthropist must for the moment be forgotten, and the man, Stephen D. Lee, must be brought as clearly as possible into view.

Physically robust, six feet tall, head shapely and set forward firmly on broad shoulders, gaze searching and somewhat restless, countenance clear, kindly and serious, stride military, with toes outward and hands to the front—thus he appeared in his A. and M. College days. Resolution and nobility were stamped upon his mien and bearing. By the toss of his head and the jerk of his arms when alone, the students learned to read the signs of the times at headquarters, though these unconscious movements also often indicated that problems of other kinds were revolving in the brain of the President. In fact, General Lee was given to introspection; and, as if reflected from his early life and accentuated by the loneliness incident to much enforced separation from his invalid wife, an almost melancholy cast gradually settled on his countenance and a suggestion of sadness prevailed in the tones of his voice.

He was fond of children, and with them seemed most at ease,

even playful in their company. He rarely passed a child without a cheerful greeting, and to one he knew well there was generally added a coin or some other token of his favor. His children friends were made happier each Christmas by his never failing remembrance of them.

He was simple in his tastes as to food and dress, and very regular in his habits. He rose early in the morning and generally before breakfast did his most important writing or made his plans for the day. To scholarship he laid no claim, often telling the students, for their encouragement, of what a struggle he had to get through at West Point. Writing and speaking were dreaded by him in his earlier days at the college, but duty was never shirked, and by practice and perseverance he acquired a vigorous, almost graceful style, and became at length quite effective, often eloquent in speech.

The growth of his intelligence, the broadening of his vision, and the steady ripening of his mental and spiritual faculties were manifest, the secret, indeed, of the increasing usefulness and influence of his life. From an exalted but rather limited conception of his duties as college president, always meaning to be just, but at times biased, blunt, and unyielding, his horizon rapidly broadened and his judgment became surer, until in his administration the silk glove was generally worn over the steel hand.

General Lee was the soul of chivalry and magnanimity. Slow to take offense, he resented warmly any aspersion of his integrity or honor. Too courteous wilfully to offend, he was also ready to accept an apology and to forgive and to forget a wrong. Toward women his bearing was always knightly, genuinely respectful and extraordinarily appreciative. For them he demanded the right to vote, at least on questions involving property they owned,<sup>26</sup> and for equal service equal pay with men. In cleanliness of speech and life he was a Sir Galahad, whose blade was strong because his heart was pure. He trusted his fellowmen to his own loss and grief at times, but therein lay largely the secret of his success and of the hold he gained on the hearts of thousands in war and peace. Scarcely a trace of insincerity or ostentation was in his mind or in his heart.

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<sup>26</sup> *Journal of the Mississippi Constitutional Convention of 1890.*

Outright, upright, and direct in word and deed, he abhorred the dark and devious ways of politics and shunned entrance into its tortuous paths. Once his friends prevailed on him to enter the race for the Governorship of Mississippi, which he really had ambition to attain. But the demands upon a candidate seemed incompatible with his unobtrusive, honest nature, and he soon retired from the field, apparently in disgust.

Unselfish and self-sacrificing it has been said was General Lee. For money he cared nothing except for the blessings he might therewith confer on his loved ones and for the sake of the causes that appealed so strongly to his beneficence and patriotism. When but a young lieutenant in the United States army on the frontier, this generous, unselfish trait in his character was strikingly displayed. A major in his regiment became greatly attached to him and offered to give him outright fourteen thousand dollars, which he declared his relatives should not have because of their mistreatment of him. Young Lee positively refused to accept the gift, which he protested would be unjust to the family of his friend. How in later years he poured out his means like water in noble benefactions has previously been indicated.

If to be childlike is to be great in the kingdom of heaven, General Lee's title to a kingly crown has no shadow of a flaw. Dauntless towards men, to his Maker he yielded the homage of a devout and reverent heart, with faith as simple and as strong as that of a little child. He was a man of prayer, and when he could not pray he was not right, as in nearly his own words aptly he expressed it. The first Psalm was one of his favorite passages of Scripture, evidently an epitome of the rule of his own life. For nearly forty years he was a teacher in the Sunday-school, taking special interest in that branch of church work. In the great revival of 1907, in Columbus, Miss., he took a very active part, sitting in the center of the platform, praying with the hundreds about the altar and teaching them with great tenderness and clearness the way to Christ. To his townsmen, who greatly honored him, and to whom he became very dear, the remembrance of him on Decoration Days and in that great meeting will doubtless remain most vivid and be cherished with the greatest satisfaction.

His faults and foibles, which all men have, leaned ever to virtue's side, and what in him to some may have seemed harsh, perhaps unjust, was not so intentionally. Few men, if any, have ever lived who more loved their fellowmen than did General Lee, or sought more constantly than he to be just and true and helpful to all alike.

As a further index of the spirit of the man, his ideals, purposes, and sentiments, attention is again invited to his writings. They are valuable and interesting apart from the light which they throw upon the personality of their author, but indispensable to that end. Numerous citations and extracts might readily be made in proof of this. Instead, a few paragraphs must suffice from his last address as Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans, read to them, two weeks after his death, at the Birmingham Reunion in June, 1908. They will at least show to what altitude of thought and eloquence he rose as he prepared his last greeting to his old comrades. As has been well said, the address "throbs with the noblest sentiments of which the human heart is capable:"

"Since the war I have heard many addresses to Confederate veterans. Our orators have been rich in arguments to demonstrate the correctness of State rights views and the soundness of the interpretation of the Constitution held by Southern statesmen. They have displayed the firm historic basis of our political faith; they have spoken in comforting words of unexpected beneficent results of the war, of the preservation of the rights of the States in the Union, of the discipline of adversity which prepared us to meet the terrible race problem with unflinching courage, indefatigable patience, and united strength; they have taught us that the Confederate cause was not wholly lost, that the best fruits of the great conflict came to the South when the master was freed from the slave, and the old icebergs of sectional hate were set adrift in the warm gulf stream of a new national patriotism.

"Nevertheless it has not seemed the whole truth to me, that the Confederate soldier went into battle to vindicate a constitutional argument. He went to war because he loved his people, because his country was invaded, because his heart was throbbing for his hearthstone. Here was the land which gave him birth; here was his childhood's home; here were the graves of his dead; here was the church spire where he had learned it was not all of life to live nor all of death to die. No hostile foot should ever tread this consecrated ground except over his dead body. It was the prospect of invasion, that made the men of the border States with bleeding hearts go and cast their lot with the Confederacy. He who could have expected a Lee to do battle against Virginia or a Hampton to draw his sword against South Carolina has never learned the language of the human heart. Nothing but the most devoted love of country could ever have sustained the Confederate soldier in his unequal and terrible struggle.

"These men fell bleeding and with broken swords before the altar of

their country. Their reward was the imperishable knighthood of their service. I imagine that the knights of the Holy Grail never sought other reward than just to serve. The Confederate soldier was the flower of noble and heroic courage. Duty laid her kiss upon his brow and love of country folded him in her arms. He enriched the world in honor; he added to the spiritual riches of mankind. The memory of his deeds is the treasure of his people, incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. No noble action is ever lost, no brave deed shall ever pass away. They are written upon the everlasting pages of the universe, they are inscribed upon the heart of God. The mountains and hills shall be made low and there shall be no more sea, but nothing of moral worth shall perish. Upon the coral of such lives as these God's islands lift 'their fronded palms in air.' But if religion were superstition and faith were folly, if death ends all and icy night awaits the world, these men lived the only life fit to be lived.

"To those who keep alive in loyal hearts the memory of the Confederate dead I would say these men chose the noblest part. This is the best life offers any man: to strive for the highest, the greatest, the bravest that he knows. Is it not better to achieve these things, even at the cost of life itself, than to purchase length of days by mean and sordid living, by cowardice or craft, by surrender of the fine ideals of manhood in base compliance to dishonor? In the heart of every man the everlasting has made answer. If the cause failed, the men were not lost. Looking beyond the little span of human life into the white light of eternity, what better could we have wished for the Confederate soldier than to have played his part as he did? He has left heroic memories that chasten and purify the hearts of all who shall come after him. He has lifted life above the low level of the commonplace into the realm of precious and immutable things, which abide above all change, beyond the reach of years.

"Wonderful men those old Southerners were; great in counsel, great in battle, but greater than all in the integrity which felt dishonor like a wound. They would have fallen upon the sordid plunderers who in later times have infested public life like Elijah upon the prophets of Baal. I cherish the hope that our Southern blood will produce the type again—that with renewed prosperity we will again introduce into public life a class of men able and willing to devote themselves with pure and unwavering fidelity to the public service, and free from the all absorbing struggle for bread, which has been the portion of Southern men for so many years. May it be the lot of our children to perform the duty of free men in a republic, with as willing hearts as ours, but at no such fearful cost.

"The keys of our Southern hearts were laid long ago in the hands of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis. These two great souls before they passed from us gave us the same counsel. They advised us to accept loyally the results of the war, and to devote ourselves to the upbuilding of our wasted country. That counsel was accepted. The Confederate soldier has given to the government at Washington the same faithful support which he gave to the government at Richmond. His patriotism has expanded its boundaries without losing its quality. He yields to no man in his love of the whole country and his devotion to her cause. In the war with Spain he gave proof that his sword was not asleep. It is all his country wherever the flag floats, which his ancestors filled with stars.

"We old soldiers are sitting in the twilight of life waiting for the evening detail; waiting for the shining angel

"With things like chevrons on his wings."

"We are the stragglers in the great march. The victory is already won, and our comrades expect our coming to share the glory of their tri-

umph. In the little time left us before we report to our great Commander, let us quit ourselves like men.<sup>27</sup>

## VII.

Of his place in history and the appraisement of his character and services, finally, let the following documents and extracts, supplementing what has been said and quoted, be further indication and corroboration:

*"To the Honorable Secretary of War—Sir:* It is my sad duty to report that Commissioner Lieut.-Gen. Stephen Dill Lee died in this city at six o'clock this morning. The country has lost a good and great citizen and each member of the commission a dear friend. His last public utterance, an address of welcome to the Union Veterans of Lawler's brigade, assembled in reunion on the battlefield last Friday afternoon, the 22d, was an inspiration to love of country and devotion to its service."<sup>28</sup>

"Knightly gentleman, chivalrous soldier, Christian man, he was beloved by a multitude, and it is a significant fact, that his last earthly service before making his final report to the Great Commander was his eloquent greeting to four regiments of Iowa and Wisconsin troops, old-time enemies whom he had not met for forty-five years.

"Stephen Lee's heart was pure, his mind and motives dwelt on the mounts of high endeavor, and his being interpreted the truer, deeper meaning of the Christian ideal."<sup>29</sup>

"Headquarters Mississippi Division, U. C. V., Jackson, Miss., May 28, 1908. Order No. 55:

"It is my painful duty to announce that Gen. Stephen D. Lee, Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans, died this morning at six o'clock in the city of Vicksburg. An illustrious commander and brave soldier, he displayed the highest qualities of courage and undaunted leadership. In all battles he fought and the campaigns in which he was engaged his splendid heroism was the pride of his battalions and the joy of his countrymen. We mourn the loss of a brave commander, and will cherish with patriotic devotion the memory of his heroic deeds and unselfish services of a distinguished citizen.

"By order of

"ROBERT LOWRY,  
*Major-General Commanding Miss. Div., U. C. V.*

"J. L. McCASKILL,  
*"Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff."*<sup>30</sup>

"As a citizen with a character as pure as snow, as a Confederate soldier with a record equal to the best, as a husband, father, and brother measuring up to all the requirements, as an officer and consistent member of the Church, he lived a blameless life, and has gone to his reward universally

<sup>27</sup> *Birmingham News*, June 10, 1908; *Vicksburg Herald*, June 10, 1908; *Confederate Veteran*, July, 1908.

<sup>28</sup> Official report of Capt. W. T. Rigby, Chairman of the Military Park Commission, Vicksburg, Miss., May 28, 1908.

<sup>29</sup> From editorial in *Confederate Veteran*, July, 1908.

<sup>30</sup> *Memphis Commercial-Appeal*, May 29, 1908.

loved and respected, leaving another great break in the ranks of the United Confederate Veterans."<sup>31</sup>

"In peace the North loved him as well as did the South."<sup>32</sup>

#### RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE UNITED CONFEDERATE VETERANS.

We loved him in life and are true to his memory in death. As he commanded the respect of a nation who placed her flags at half-mast on the day of his funeral, so he commands our regard; therefore be it

*Resolved:* 1. That this organization of United Confederate Veterans do hereby express to the world and to each other our esteem for him by rising with bowed heads. We feel deeply our loss. The South has been deprived of a knightly defender, the whole country of a patriotic citizen, and Mississippi of an adopted son of whom she was justly proud.

2. We declare our love for him as a Christian gentleman and citizen, whose life and character we commend to the generations who are to follow us as worthy of emulation. He was a man without guile, true to every duty that devolved upon him, and filling the Psalmist's description of a citizen of Zion: "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart. He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbor."

3. We admired him as a soldier worthy of the cause for which he fought and bled, and as one of our comrades whose rise to distinction entitles him to be honored by the true soldiers of our country for all the years that are to come; the embodiment of chivalry, as knightly as any soldier who followed the banner of Charlemagne or planted the Roman eagle on conquered turret or tower, whose courteous manner to every foe challenged the admiration of his enemies.

4. We cherish his memory, so full of love for his fellowmen, fired with so much zeal for the uplifting of the youth of our land, so tender in manner toward his loved ones, beloved by them and by us. We tender our deepest sympathies to his family with the cheering comfort of having so glorious a heritage as to be the descendants of Stephen D. Lee.

5. That the Adjutant-General be requested to communicate these resolutions to the Camps and send a copy to his family.

Their adoption was made by rising vote.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup>From Gen. W. L. Cabell's Order announcing death of General Lee, May 28, 1908, and assuming command of the United Confederate Veterans,

<sup>32</sup>New York *Examiner*, May 29, 1908.

<sup>33</sup>Birmingham *News*, June 10, 1908, and other daily papers; *Confederate Veteran*, July, 1908. These resolutions were submitted by Col. W. A. Montgomery at the conclusion of his *Memorial Address* at the Confederate Veterans' Reunion in Birmingham, Ala., June 9-11, 1908.



THE WORK OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
1898-1908.

BY FRANKLIN L. RILEY, *Secretary and Treasurer.*<sup>1</sup>

This meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society marks an epoch in its history. Ten years ago the Society was reorganized and plans matured for greatly enlarging its spheres of activity. Some of these plans were more or less experimental and frankness demands a confession, that a few of them were then characterized as visionary and unimportant. The degree of success which has crowned these larger efforts will be noted in another part of this paper.

The Mississippi Historical Society was organized at the University of Mississippi in 1890. It was incorporated by the Legislature of the State in the same year. During the first four years of its history the Society had a precarious existence and, when it suspended activity in 1894, the net results of its four years' work were a few unassorted historical relics and documents and, more important still, a deposit of fifty dollars to its credit in one of the banks of Oxford. During this period its meetings were, for the most part, private, that is, they were open only to its members and their especially invited guests. Reports of committees were made, but no contributions to State history were presented. The Society issued no publication. It seems to have devoted its energies almost entirely to the collection and preservation of historical relics and documents. During the next four years it was in a moribund state.

Shortly after the beginning of the session of 1897-98 two members of the faculty of the University of Mississippi, Dr. R. W. Jones and Chancellor R. B. Fulton, who had been officers of the Historical Society at the time of its suspension, four years before, requested the writer, who had just been installed as Professor of History in the University, to accept the position of Secretary and Treasurer of the then defunct organization. At that time the outlook for the Society was not at all encouraging.

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<sup>1</sup>This report was presented at the decennial meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society.—EDITOR.

Its entire membership had lapsed three or four years before, for non-payment of dues, and its former friends seemed to have little faith in the success of the efforts to revive it.

#### PRELIMINARY STEPS TOWARDS REORGANIZATION.

The newly appointed Secretary addressed a circular letter to a number of citizens of the State, asking for their co-operation in an effort to reorganize the Historical Society, enlarge its activities and increase its usefulness. They were requested to prepare historical papers to be read at a meeting which was called to assemble in Jackson on January 7 and 8, 1898. Although the responses were not numerous, they were sufficiently hearty to give an earnest of the loyal support which the Society would receive from the public.

The first public meeting of the Society was accordingly held in the Hall of Representatives in the old State house on the days appointed. As was stated in the Secretary's report,<sup>2</sup> at the end of the first five years after its reorganization, at the time of this meeting, "the Society had only nine members, six of whom were in attendance." It is interesting to note, that this is the only public meeting of the Society which has been attended by a majority of its members. A large number of visitors and friends were also present and much interest was manifested in the work. The program contained twelve titles, and several valuable papers were read and presented to the Society for a publication which it was generally understood would be issued, "provided," as a cautious member of the Executive Committee instructed, "the funds of the Society should admit of it." Officers and an Executive Committee were chosen to co-operate with the Secretary during the forthcoming year.

By their very complimentary accounts of the proceedings, the Jackson correspondents of the daily papers which circulated in the State directed attention to the Society, thereby greatly increasing public interest in its work. The success of the Society since its reorganization has been due in no small degree to

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<sup>2</sup>See *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 15-26.

the valuable services rendered by the public-spirited Jackson correspondents, who have helped to keep the public informed with reference to its aims and achievements. The limitations of this contribution will not permit the naming of individuals or the mention of specific services in this connection.

The Secretary also acknowledges the kindness of the Executive Committee of the Society, which has given him not only the utmost freedom in outlining policies, but the heartiest co-operation in putting them into execution. During the entire period, from the time of his election in 1899, the beloved President of the Society, General Stephen D. Lee, has taken the keenest interest in its work, having attended every meeting,<sup>3</sup> and contributed a number of valuable papers to its programs and its publications. He made several public addresses to the State Legislature in behalf of the Society and has greatly aided it in other ways, often sacrificing his time and money for the worthy cause.

During the ten years of his service, the Secretary has attempted to develop the historical interests of the State by projecting the work of the Society along the following lines: (1) The holding of public meetings for the purpose of stimulating interest in State history and of disseminating valuable facts relative thereto; (2) the publishing of worthy contributions to State history; (3) the fostering of affiliated local organizations for historical purposes; (4) the collecting and preserving of historical materials; (5) the locating and cataloguing of the sources of State history; (6) the establishment of a State Department of Archives and History.

#### PUBLIC MEETINGS.

Since its reorganization the Society has held eight public meetings, not counting the one now in session, as follows: in Jackson (1898), Natchez (1899), Jackson (1900), Meridian (1901), Jackson (1902), Yazoo City (1903), Jackson (1904) and Jackson (1906). In 1904 the Executive Committee decided to hold all meetings of the Society at the State capital biennially,

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<sup>3</sup>Unfortunately his duties as a member of the Vicksburg Park Commission prevented his attendance at the decennial meeting, at which this paper was read.

in the latter part of the first week after the assembling of the Legislature. These meetings have been well attended by members of the Legislature, which fact largely accounts for their liberality in making appropriations to the important work of the Society. The meetings which were held in Natchez, Meridian and Yazoo City aroused much local historical interest and greatly advanced the welfare of the Society, though the attendance of members from other parts of the State was unsatisfactory.

#### PUBLICATIONS.

In order to stimulate research and to provide for the preservation and dissemination of worthy contributions, the reorganized Society at once made a modest beginning of its publishing activity. In 1898 a small pamphlet of only 110 pages was issued, containing the most important papers, which were read at the first public meeting. In 1899 a similar pamphlet of 250 pages was published by the Society. These small publications, issued at the expense of the Society, left the organization hopelessly in debt, and it was felt that unless State aid could be obtained this important activity must cease. In the year 1900 a memorial to the Legislature setting forth the needs of the situation was accordingly prepared by the Secretary and signed by the Executive Committee.<sup>4</sup>

The Society had reached a critical period in its career. General Stephen D. Lee, who fortunately had been elected its President the year before, realizing the importance of the measure, presented the memorial in person to each of the two Houses of the Legislature and urged a favorable consideration of the Historical Society bill then pending. As a result, the Legislature passed an act appropriating \$2,000 to aid the Society in printing its publications for the years 1900 and 1901. This enabled the Society to issue during the two following years three volumes of *Publications* bound in cloth. Although the publishing bill amounted to about \$500 more than the legislative appropriation, the extra expense was defrayed by the sale of books and by the annual membership dues. Since the year 1900

<sup>4</sup>A copy of this memorial will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. III, pp. 15-18.

the Legislature has made appropriations of \$1,000 for each volume of *Publications* issued. The Legislature of 1908 is asked to increase this amount to \$1,200 a volume. Nine volumes have been published to date (January, 1908). They contain 3,937 pages and present altogether 216 separate monographs which relate to almost every phase of State history. These books have been placed in public and private libraries in practically every State in the Union. They may be found in the libraries of every large University of the land, with only a few exceptions, and some of them have been sent to foreign countries. It is especially gratifying to call attention to the fact, that references are frequently made to our *Publications* in historical works that are being issued, from time to time, in various parts of the country. In this way the world is receiving Mississippi's own interpretation of her history, a result worth many times what has been expended thereon in money and labor.

#### ARCHIVES AND MUSEUM.

A report made by the Secretary five years ago contains the following paragraph on this subject:

"This phase of work was apparently the only one undertaken by the Society when originally organized. As a consequence, a few valuable historical manuscripts and relics, belonging to the Society, were found by the present secretary when he entered upon the discharge of his duties. During the last five years this collection was largely increased, the most important additions thereto being the papers and correspondence of Gen. Adelbert Ames and a collection of letters addressed to Mr. A. H. Stone relating to the literary history of the State."

At the fifth annual meeting of the Society after its reorganization a resolution was passed authorizing the removal of its archives from the University of Mississippi to Jackson, Miss., on condition the State would make adequate provision for their preservation. This was done in order to induce the Legislature to establish a Department of Archives and History. Upon the establishment of that department the resolution went into effect and the Historical Society discontinued its activity as a collecting agency.

The Historical Society still maintains a rapidly growing library, containing, for the most part, the publications of other

historical organizations and other books received in exchange for its publications.

#### HISTORY COMMISSION.

In response to a memorial from the Executive Committee of the Historical Society, the Legislature of 1900 passed an act which authorized the appointment of a special commission to locate and catalogue the sources of Mississippi history. This law stipulated that the commission should consist of five active members of the Society, who without expense to the State for their labor should "make a full, detailed and exhaustive examination of all sources and materials, manuscript, documentary and record, of the history of Mississippi from the earliest times, whether in the State or elsewhere, including the records of Mississippi troops in all wars in which they have participated, and of the location and present condition of battlefields, historic houses and buildings, and other places and things of historic interest and importance in the State." It also provided for the publication of "the results of said examinations in a detailed report," which should be submitted to "the next ensuing session of the Legislature, with an account of the then condition of historical work in the State and with such recommendations as may be desirable."

This report was published as Volume V of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*. A former report of the Secretary directs attention to the fact that this is "the most elaborate and pretentious historical work that has ever been done without compensation by any citizens of the State." It has been favorably received by a large number of investigators and reviewers in different parts of the United States.

#### THE MISSISSIPPI PLAN.

During the first two and a half years after the reorganization of the Society its work was done almost entirely by the Secretary and Treasurer, who was also Professor of History in the State University. But the steadily increasing correspondence, and numerous other duties soon demanded more time than he could afford to give to the rapidly developing work. He was, therefore, given an assistant in July, 1901. Before two

years more had elapsed the historical work in the State had grown in magnitude and importance until it became necessary for the Secretary to seek further relief. Then came an urgent recommendation from the History Commission that a State Department of Archives and History be established under the auspices of the Mississippi Historical Society and that an appropriation of \$7,500 be made for the maintenance of this Department and to aid the Society in issuing its *Publications* in 1902 and 1903. Bills drafted in harmony with this recommendation were passed by the Legislature and approved by the Governor in February, 1902. A month later the Department of Archives and History was organized.

Then followed a process of differentiation which has culminated in what might be termed the Mississippi Plan for historical work. It provides for the maintenance of two permanent co-ordinate historical agencies with clearly defined spheres of activity. In the opinion of the writer this unique plan rests upon a logical foundation. There is unquestionably in Mississippi a place for a historical agency controlled and permeated by University influences; also for an agency with headquarters at the State Capitol, which will be in more constant contact with the citizens of the State. There are comparatively few historical societies that accomplish most satisfactory results as collecting agencies. There are also very few State departments that are able and willing to foster and direct the various important lines of scholarly research which are necessary to the publication of valuable contributions to history.

The latter field seems to be the special province of the University with its seminaries, its corps of graduate students and its large number of alumni, as well as its various other literary affiliations which reach to every part of the State. These circumstances afford to persons who are well trained opportunities as well as incentives to contribute an important part toward the development of historical work in the State. Three-fourths of the contributors to the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* are alumni of the State University. I am delighted to be able to say that three of the papers on the program of the decennial meeting are the results of seminary work done at the University during the session of 1906-7.

The Mississippi plan of historical work contains at least one idea which is original. It is that of two active, co-ordinated, State-supported agencies, one with headquarters at the State University, the other with headquarters at the State Capitol, both of which are working successfully and harmoniously in their respective fields. These agencies bring to bear upon the historical work of the State two of the influences—academic and political—which are the most powerful and progressive in any commonwealth. The Mississippi Historical Society not only gave birth to the State Department of Archives and History, but nurtured it into strength. The first Executive Committee of the Society became *ex officio* the first Board of Trustees of the Department of Archives and History, and the majority of the present board are still members of the Executive Committee of the Society. The Society, like an unselfish parent, has also been generous in dividing her historical estate with her first born. She has voluntarily discontinued her activity as a collecting agency, this work being transferred to the Department.

The historical work in Mississippi is now divided as follows between the Historical Society with headquarters at the State University and the Department of Archives and History, with headquarters in the State Capitol:

The Mississippi Historical Society is:

1. An agency for stimulating an interest in State history by means of public meetings.
2. An agency for stimulating research through the publication of finished products of historical investigation.
3. An agency for directing and encouraging field work in history.
4. An agency for publishing unofficial sources of State history.
5. An agency for fostering local historical societies throughout the State.
6. An agency for improving the teaching of history in the schools of the State.

The Department of Archives and History is:

1. An agency for collecting, preserving and making easily accessible all materials relating to the State.
2. An agency for serving as a general information bureau and for preparing and publishing, from time to time, valuable statistical information relating to the State.
3. An agency for the preparation and publication of an official register of the State after each general election.
4. An agency for editing the official sources of Mississippi history.
5. An agency for locating historic sites, and co-operating with the Historical Society in preserving and appropriately marking the same.
6. An agency for directing the future work of the Mississippi Historical Commission.

## PUBLICATIONS.

It will be seen that the most important function now left to the Society is the publishing of the finished products of historical research and of important unofficial sources of State history. A general classification of the contributions that have been published by the Society in the first nine volumes of its *Publications* with the number of contributions under each subject is here given in order to indicate the nature and scope of the investigations which have been conducted under the direction of this State agency:<sup>5</sup>

Archæology.....	5
Bibliography.....	15
Biography.....	8
Diplomatic history.....	2
Documents, unofficial.....	10
Economic history.....	8
Educational history.....	4
Historical geography.....	14
Historical reports.....	9
History of scientific investigations and industries.....	2
Indians.....	17
Legal and Judicial history.....	8
Literary history.....	16
Local History.....	9
Military history.....	21
Miscellaneous.....	11
Pioneer reminiscences.....	3
Political and Constitutional History.....	29
Religious History.....	10
Social history.....	5

## NEW FIELD OF ENDEAVOR.

Although much progress has been made in historical work in Mississippi during the past decade, there are still many problems that must be solved before the work will be in a satisfactory condition. The Historical Society commemorates its tenth birthday since its reorganization by inaugurating a new movement, which it is hoped will solve the great problems that present themselves to the teachers of history in the State. In response to her call some of the foremost educators from other States are here to help the teachers of Mississippi in this important work. A careful examination of the program of the His-

<sup>5</sup>For a "Complete Contents of Volumes 1-x of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Topically Arranged," see *infra*.

tory Teachers' Conference will convince the friends and members of the Historical Society that she has entered upon this new field of endeavor with a seriousness that is worthy of commendation.

An inquiry into the character of the historical renaissance in Mississippi will reveal the fact that it is too provincial, being limited for the most part to an interest in State history. The teachers of history are now confronted with the task of making the public to realize that State history is only a fragment of a greater unit and that he who would understand the history of Mississippi must know the history not only of the nation, but of all those countries which have projected their civilization into our own.

It is gratifying to note that some progress has been made in the teaching of history in recent years, particularly in the higher institutions of learning. Unfortunately this improvement has affected the character of work in the common schools to only a slight degree. Nor may we expect such a result to follow as a matter of course. College work in history differs so radically in its objects and methods from elementary work in the subject that the graduates who have completed advance courses in history find themselves little better equipped with methods of teaching history in the primary and intermediate grades than they were before entering college.

The Mississippi Historical Society hopes that her tenth anniversary may be rendered noteworthy by an addition to her offspring of a permanent organization of history teachers.

#### OPINIONS OF MEN OF LETTERS.

Shortly after the distribution of the programs for the decennial meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society, letters of congratulation and appreciation were received by the Secretary from a score or more of historians of note in various parts of the United States. These letters were published by the Society in a pamphlet entitled *Opinions of Men of Letters on the Work of the Mississippi Historical Society*. Extracts are therein given from Prof. S. C. Mitchell of Richmond College, Prof. Herbert L. Osgood of Columbia University, Prof. J. Franklin Jameson

of the Carnegie Institute and editor of the *American Historical Review*, Prof. Frederick W. Moore of Vanderbilt University, Prof. C. Alphonso Smith of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Collier Meriwether of Washington, D. C., Prof. Ulrich B. Phillips of Tulane University, Prof. Henry E. Chambers of New Orleans; Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh of the University of Iowa, Dr. R. G. Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Prof. Edward Mims of Trinity College, Durham, N. C., editor of *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Prof. George P. Garrison of the University of Texas, Hon. Peter J. Hamilton of Mobile, Ala., Prof. J. W. Garner of the University of Illinois, Prof. J. H. Reynolds of the University of Arkansas, Prof. F. H. Hodder of the University of Kansas, Prof. Wm. A. Dunning of Columbia University, and Prof. Chas. M. Andrews of the Johns Hopkins University. It should be a matter of great interest to all citizens of the State that, through the *Publications* issued by their Society, Mississippi is giving to the world her own interpretation of her history.

It is believed that recent successes are prophetic of still greater achievements. Interest in history is broadening and deepening. Tangible results have already been achieved and definite plans for future developments have been formulated.



## THE WAR IN MISSISSIPPI AFTER THE FALL OF VICKSBURG, JULY 4, 1863.

BY GENERAL STEPHEN D. LEE.<sup>1</sup>

The fall of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863, and the battle of Gettysburg, fought by General Lee in Pennsylvania, about the same time, were staggering blows to the Confederacy, and from these two battles the South never recovered.

Mississippi, after the fall of Vicksburg and the undisputed possession of the Mississippi River by the Federal forces, lost much of its importance in the eyes of both contending parties. Their immense river fleet enabled the Federals to hold the river with ease, after fortifying the two points, Vicksburg and Port Hudson, against recapture. They also had fine access to all its tributaries, for it was the misfortune of the Confederacy to have no navy. With the loss of that stream the Confederacy was virtually cut in two, as there was no practicable communication across the river except by individuals.

Soon after Vicksburg fell, General Sherman, with about three corps comprising the flower of General Grant's army around

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<sup>1</sup> Shortly before the lamented death of Gen. Stephen D. Lee this contribution to the military history of Mississippi was submitted to the secretary of the Society for publication. The letter accompanying the manuscript reads as follows:

COLUMBUS, Miss., March 17, 1908.

MY DEAR DR. RILEY: I enclose you a manuscript which I wrote for Colonel Claiborne's History of Mississippi in 1876. The copy I sent him was burned when his office was burned, and this is the rough retained copy. It was intended for his guidance for his second volume, which never came out. It is a consecutive narrative of the war in Mississippi, not going into details. I send it to you to judge if you deem it important enough to put in the Publications. . . . If you do not favor I shall take no offense and you can return.

With kind wishes,

Yours truly,

STEPHEN D. LEE.

This article is a fitting conclusion to General Lee's many valuable and important contributions to State history, since it gives a general survey of military engagements about which he had written in detail for preceding volumes of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*. In justice to General Lee, the attention of the reader should be called to the fact that the article was written before the publication of the war records by the general government. By a singular coincidence, this account, written in 1876, and probably his first connective narrative of the incidents therein related, is the last of his many contributions to appear in printed form.—EDITOR.

Vicksburg, marched against General Johnston at Jackson, which place he reached about July 9, 1863. After some unimportant fighting there, General Johnston crossed Pearl River and moved to Morton, on the Vicksburg and Meridian Railroad, as he did not feel it prudent to stand a siege at Jackson. Sherman pursued as far as Brandon, and then retraced his steps to Vicksburg.

About the middle of August Brig.-Gen. Stephen D. Lee was promoted to rank of Major-General and assigned to command of all the cavalry in Mississippi, reporting to Gen. J. E. Johnston at his headquarters at Morton.

In addition to General Johnston's infantry command at Morton a cavalry division of about 2,500 effective men, under Brig.-Gen. W. H. Jackson, was watching the country between Vicksburg and the Yazoo River and the line of railroad from Grenada through Jackson. This division consisted of two brigades, Brigadier-General Cosby commanding. The First Mississippi regiment of cavalry was under Col. R. A. Pinson; the Second Mississippi cavalry, Col. J. G. Valentine; the Twenty-eighth Mississippi regiment, Col. P. B. Starke. The Texas brigade was under General Whitfield, consisting of First Texas Legion, Colonel Whitfield; Third Texas cavalry, Col. H. P. Mabry; Sixth Texas cavalry, Col. Sol. Ross; Ninth Texas cavalry, Col. D. W. Jones; Brig.-Gen. J. R. Chalmers commanding a small brigade between Grenada and Memphis, consisting of Willis' Texas battalion, Lieut.-Col. Leo Willis; Eighth Mississippi cavalry, Col. Robt. McCulloch; Duff's Mississippi battalion, and some unattached cavalry companies.

In Northeast Mississippi Brigadier-General Ferguson had a brigade consisting of the Fifty-sixth Alabama, Col. Wm. Boyles, and the Second Alabama cavalry, Colonel Earle.

In the vicinity of Port Hudson there was a small brigade under Col. L. L. Logan, of Arkansas. The army under General Grant at Vicksburg did not make any serious move after returning to Vicksburg, but a number of raids or marauding expeditions were organized and sent out from Port Hudson, Vicksburg, Yazoo City, Memphis and points on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and were met by Confederate States cavalry and generally driven back.

About August 16th two raids were out, one from Yazoo City, another from Grand Junction. The one from Yazoo was met by the Texas brigade of Jackson's division. It made its way to Grenada and, uniting with a raid from Grand Junction, was compelled by the concentration of Jackson, Chalmers and Ferguson to retreat rapidly towards Memphis. Its track was marked by burning houses and useless destruction of property of all kinds. About August 28th another raid from the direction of Vernon was met and driven back by General Jackson's command.

In October Major-General Lee, by direction of General Johnston, organized a force of about 2,500 cavalry near Pontotoc, consisting of Ferguson's brigade, Ross' brigade (Sixth Texas and First Mississippi), and Owen's battery. The purpose of this expedition was to raid on the railroads in Middle Tennessee as a diversion in favor of General Bragg's Tennessee army near Chattanooga. This command arrived in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals, North Alabama, about October 17th.

On arriving at this point General Lee discovered that Major-General Wheeler, with the cavalry of Bragg's army, had just been driven with considerable loss out of Middle Tennessee. He found also that General Roddy, whom he expected to join him, had received no orders to that effect from General Bragg.

General Wheeler did not deem it prudent, although he had a larger force than General Lee, to cross the Tennessee River and operate with him in Middle Tennessee. Under these circumstances General Lee did not deem it prudent to carry out his orders, as they were left discretionary with him by General Johnston.

He soon found, however, employment for his command, as he learned of a large force of Federals moving east from Iuka, Miss., about the 19th of October. He met this command not far from Cherokee Station, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and for ten days encountered and impeded the march of Sherman's corps (the Fifteenth) and part of the Sixteenth of the Federal army en route to join the Federal army at Chattanooga, via Decatur, then commanded by General Grant. So effective was this opposition that these troops had to retrace their steps and cross the Tennessee River at Bridgeport and

complete their march on the north side of the river. Ross' brigade, the First Mississippi and the Sixth Texas, and Owen's battery and part of the Fifty-sixth Alabama (Boyles), immortalized themselves on this trip in impeding the march of the Federal infantry. These two regiments for ten days disputed every inch of ground. The most unpleasant duty of cavalry devolved on them, fighting a greatly superior force of infantry, and finally making such resistance as to compel this army to change its line of march and pursue another route.

While this severe fighting was going on a raiding party of deserters from the Confederate army commanded by one Colonel Spenser, and organized into a Federal regiment, was detached into Marion County, Ala., to lay waste the country. This expedition was accompanied by two guns. Brigadier-General Ferguson was detached with a portion of his brigade, principally Colonel Earles' Alabama cavalry. He caught up with Spenser, thoroughly routed him, and captured his guns and equipage. Ferguson here, as on all occasions, showed himself a good soldier. Major-General Lee notified General Bragg, at Chattanooga, of the reinforcements going to the Federal Army at that point, as to the numbers and organizations, and after the Federal troops had crossed the river he returned to Mississippi.

The following incident is given to show the efficiency of this cavalry command: When the Federal troops were reported moving from Iuka, they were reported as a large force. General Lee had no idea what force it was, as Sherman was supposed to be at Vicksburg, and had not heard that he had transferred his command to Memphis and was en route to Chattanooga. He therefore determined to find out at once what command it was. He ordered Col. Pete Ross, with the Sixth Texas cavalry, as soon as he met the enemy to ride over and through the pickets into their camp. This he most gallantly did, obeying his orders literally, and found himself very soon in the center of Osterhaus' infantry division, engaged in cooking their supper. Of course he astonished the division as much as he was astonished himself, and before any great damage could be done him he coolly brought his regiment safely out of its perilous position, and it was discovered that Sherman's army was moving to Chattanooga.

About the middle of November Brigadier-General Forrest reported for duty in Mississippi. He brought with him from General Bragg's army about 500 men of his old command, including Morton's battery. General Johnston at once arranged for General Forrest to raid into West Tennessee and endeavor to recruit his small command. It was believed that this brilliant cavalry officer could accomplish much in West Tennessee, and these expectations were fully realized. He arrived at Okolona October 16th, 1863.

Major-General Lee, commanding the cavalry in Mississippi, was directed to escort General Forrest across the Memphis and Chattanooga Railroad, when that officer was ready. The crossing was made about December 4th at Saulsbury station. For this purpose General Lee used the command he had taken with him into North Alabama, namely, Ferguson's brigades and Chalmers' brigade, from the vicinity of Grenada. These troops moved across the Tallahatchie about the last of November. After General Forrest moved his command from Saulsbury General Lee moved his command west, and at a short distance south of the railroad, to divert attention from Forrest. On the same day, about sundown, he made an attack on Moscow from the west side of Wolf River, to draw all the Federal forces on his command. This attack was a brilliant affair, though was intended only as a demonstration. The Federal cavalry, under General Hatch, kept near the railroad watching General Lee's command, and was led away from Saulsbury. General Lee discovered that a part of Hatch's command was on the west side of Wolf River, and he determined to attack it and drive it into the river and, if possible, surprise and capture the fort across the river. Just opposite the fort and along the west bank of the river, was a wooded bottom, which was held by the sharpshooters of the enemy. Ross' brigade was moved well to the north, mounted, and charged across an open field into the woods held by the enemy, while McCulloch, with a part of Chalmers' brigade, struck the enemy on his left flank in the woods. They at once swept everything before them, and the enemy soon took to their heels, abandoning many horses, crossed the river and went into the fort. Before their command could be dismounted it was discovered that the wooded bottom land was

thoroughly swept by the artillery of the fort, and it was not deemed prudent, at that late hour, to cross and assault the fort.

This attack was made about fifteen minutes too soon, as Hatch's cavalry was crossing the river to watch Lee, who he found had crossed to west side of Wolf River.

Lee continued to move towards Memphis and thoroughly diverted the enemy from Forrest.

Chalmers and Ferguson threatened the Memphis and Charleston Railroad while Forrest was in West Tennessee.

About December 18th General Johnston was relieved from his command in Mississippi by Lieut.-Gen. L. Polk, being ordered to Dalton to take personal command of the army of Tennessee. General Forrest returned from West Tennessee about January 1, 1864, bringing with him about 3,000 recruits, in addition to his 500 men he had with him, and large numbers of wagons loaded with supplies. He was very successful. About January 13th General Forrest reported to General Polk at Jackson, and he was assigned to the command of the cavalry in the northern part of the State as a Major-General. Chalmers' brigade and such troops as were in his district, were ordered to report to him. He soon organized his command and had it properly armed.

About this time several regiments and battalions of cavalry were organized of Mississippi troops, both by General Lee and General Forrest. Among them were the Fourth Mississippi cavalry, Col. C. C. Wilbourne; the Sixth Mississippi, Colonel Harrison; Col. Horace Miller's regiment; Colonel Inge's regiment; Colonel Perrin's regiment; First Mississippi Partisan Rangers, Col. S. M. Hyams; the Eighteenth Mississippi battalion, Col. A. H. Chalmers; the Nineteenth Mississippi battalion, Col. W. L. Walker; Moorman's Mississippi battalion, Col. George Moorman; and Lay's Mississippi regiment, Col. B. D. Lay. General Gholson's brigade of State troops was also transferred from State to Confederate service, consisting of Ashcroft's regiment; Ham's Mississippi regiment, Colonel T. C. Ham; Lowry's Mississippi regiment, Col. W. L. Lowry; McGuirk's Mississippi regiment, Col. John McGuirk; also Harris' Mississippi battalion, Col. T. W. Harris; and Roberts' Mississippi battalion, Maj. Calvert Roberts.

Early in 1864, the Federals, having large forces in the field, devised a number of co-operative expeditions in Mississippi and Alabama, endeavoring to sweep these States of the Confederate States troops by bare force of numbers.

An expedition was organized against Mobile. Another formidable one of about 25,000 men, under General Sherman, was organized at Vicksburg to march into Mississippi, its objective point supposed to be Selma. Another large cavalry force, about 9,000, under Gen. W. S. Smith, was organized at Memphis to start from the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. At this time General Polk was at Morton with three small divisions, about 12,000 men. Major-General Lee, with one brigade of Jackson's division (Starke's and Wood's regiments, under Wirt Adams) and Ferguson's brigade, was at Bolton watching the coming of the expedition from Vicksburg on the Vicksburg and Meridian Railroad. The rest of Jackson's division (the Texans) was operating in front of Yazoo City. General Lee's forces numbered about three thousand men.

At the same time General Forrest was ordered to meet the expedition from the north under General Smith.

Sherman's army consisted of two corps, McPherson's Sixteenth and Hurlbut's Seventeenth, with about forty guns and about 1,500 cavalry, numbering in all about twenty-five or thirty thousand men.

This army was met near Baker's Creek in advance of Bolton on February 4th by General Lee, and was severely engaged on that day and the day following, causing General Sherman to develop his strength. All the troops were engaged, and acted heroically in impeding this formidable army. General Sherman marched his two corps on several different roads and reached Jackson on the night of February 8th, driving General Lee before him. Sherman then marched from Jackson towards Brandon. General Lee harrassed him constantly on his entire route to Meridian, where he arrived on February 15th. This small cavalry force could only keep Sherman well closed up, and in good order, and, to a certain extent, prevent depredating off the main roads on which he was marching. There never was an army in a civilized country that laid waste and destroyed public and private property as did Sherman's army. They

burnt nearly every town they passed through, destroyed private houses, and their route was marked by the smoke of burning buildings and desolate homesteads. The Federals themselves estimated the damage inflicted at over \$50,000,000. They carried back eight or ten thousand negroes, thousands of horses and mules and property of every description, leaving a barren waste in their track.

General Polk did not think he had sufficient force to fight Sherman and retreated through Meridian to Demopolis.

Sherman remained at Meridian five days, destroying railroads and private property and then retraced his steps towards Vicksburg, where he arrived on the 28th. Major-General Lee, on Sherman's arrival at Meridian, left a regiment to observe the enemy, and moved his cavalry to unite with General Forrest, near West Point, to crush Smith's cavalry expedition. He arrived in that vicinity February 22d, but found that Smith had been checked by Forrest and, hearing of the approach of Lee, he retreated rapidly towards Memphis, being severely punished by Forrest's command.

Several brigades were at once sent in pursuit of Sherman from the vicinity of Starkville, and harrassed his army from Austin to the Big Black, where they arrived about March 5th. Sherman's expedition is almost inexplicable, unless he expected to meet and fight a large army. The railroads were severely injured, of course, but were repaired in a short time. He and his army were more intent on ruining the helpless people within his march than on destroying public property. He no doubt intended to march to Selma, had he been joined by his cavalry, but as he was foiled in this he retraced his steps.

About March 4th Ross' brigade of Texans, Jackson's division and Richardson's small brigade from Forrest's command, attacked a force of the enemy at Yazoo City. Although this attack failed, the city was evacuated on the 6th, and the Federal troops went down the Yazoo River towards Vicksburg. This Federal expedition was another raiding party in conjunction with Sherman's. About the Middle of March Major-General Forrest, having been joined by a small brigade of Kentuckians, under Brigadier-General Buford, commenced his second trip

into West Tennessee and Kentucky, where he was absent from the State till about the 5th of May.

With the return of Sherman to Vicksburg and the failure of Smith, with his large cavalry force to join Sherman at Meridian, closes the first co-operative movement in Mississippi and Alabama in 1864.

About this time there were several important changes in the Federal army. General Grant was put in supreme command and transferred to confront General Lee in Virginia, while General Sherman was assigned to his old command, including the Federal army confronting General Johnston at Dalton. This gave a short breathing spell of about one month or six weeks for gathering and organizing on both sides for the terrible campaign, commencing early in May, 1864. At this time Sherman was confronting Johnston at Dalton, with a greatly superior army; and Grant, Lee in Virginia with apparently overwhelming numbers. These changes necessitated a corresponding change in Mississippi. Lieutenant-General Polk, with all the infantry in Mississippi and Alabama, 9,000 effective, was ordered to join General Johnston's army in Georgia. Major-General Lee was ordered to send Jackson's division and Ferguson's brigade of his cavalry also to General Johnston (4,000). This virtually stripped Mississippi and Alabama of troops, excepting the force organized by Major-General Forrest in West Tennessee and North Mississippi, and a few new regiments organized in Mississippi about this time. All the infantry and the veteran cavalry division of Gen. W. H. Jackson and Ferguson's brigade were gone. These latter troops were very reliable, and their service in Mississippi most efficient. It fell to their lot almost always to have to fight a largely superior force of infantry, as in confronting Sherman in North Alabama and again on the Meridian expedition. They did their part well, and every commander felt assured that, when W. H. Jackson, with his division, was next to the enemy, all would be done that could be done, and that no mistake or mishap would occur. The same was true also of Brig.-Gen. S. W. Ferguson and his brigade.

Major-General Stephen D. Lee was assigned to the command of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, East Louisiana and

West Tennessee, relieving Lieutenant-General Polk, who marched to General Johnston's relief with Loring's 5,000 and French's infantry (4,000), and most of S. D. Lee's cavalry command (4,000), about 13,000 effective men. This was about May 6, 1864.

Major-General Lee, the new commander, found himself responsible for one of the largest military departments in the Confederacy, and with only a small cavalry force with which to defend it.

About the 6th of May Major-General Forrest returned from his expedition into West Tennessee and Kentucky, making his headquarters at Tupelo, Miss. During the month of May he thoroughly organized his command into two divisions—Chalmers' division with three brigades (McCullough's, Neely's and Rucker's) and Buford's division with Bell's and Lyon's brigades—and four field batteries, Morton's, Thrall's, Rice's and Walton's (16 guns). It was now a splendid command, most of which he had recruited. Forrest's expedition into West Tennessee and Kentucky was a brilliant affair, recruiting his command considerably as to men and horses and supplies. During his absence from Mississippi he fought the enemy at Union City, Paducah; Columbus, Ky., Bolivar, Sommerville and Fort Pillow, generally with success.

The affair at Fort Pillow caused a correspondence between General Hurlbut (Federal commander) at Memphis, and General Lee as to treatment of negro prisoners, General Hurlbut stating that General Forrest had literally massacred the garrison on account of the negro troops in the fort. General Lee investigated the affair and found the Federal account greatly colored and exaggerated. The fort refused to surrender, it was carried by assault and the garrison, instead of surrendering, retreated out of the fort fighting, to the protection of a gun-boat in the river (Mississippi). The Confederate States officers, as soon as possible, stopped the firing, and the result showed it was no massacre.

Major-General Lee then made his headquarters at Meridian, Miss., and at once arranged for the protection of his department. Brigadier-General Wirt Adams, with a small brigade, was in the vicinity of Jackson, Miss. Colonel Mabry, with a

brigade; Fourth Mississippi, Col. C. C. Wilbourne; Sixth Mississippi, Col. Isham Harrison; Thirty-eighth Mississippi, Major McKay; and the Fourteenth Confederate, Col. F. Dumontiel, was watching the Yazoo River.

Griffith's small brigade (Arkansas) was in Southwest Mississippi and Forrest's cavalry in North Mississippi.

About the latter part of May the enemy threatened a raid from Decatur on the iron works about Montevallo, and on one important arsenal at Selma, and General Lee sent Chalmers, with McCullough's and Neely's brigades to Montevallo, where he arrived about the 31st of May.

Gen. J. E. Johnston, in command of the Army of Tennessee in Georgia, last of May, was sorely pressed and appealed to General Lee to send some cavalry into Middle Tennessee, also behind Sherman's army towards Tunnell Hill north of Dalton, to intercept Sherman's communications in his rear. Major-General Forrest was instructed to take about 2,500 men of his command for the trip into Middle Tennessee and to add Roddy's command in North Alabama. General Pillow, with a good brigade, was ordered to destroy the railroad near Tunnell Hill, Neely's brigade being placed at his disposal for this purpose.

These expeditions were barely started by General Lee when General Forrest had to be recalled from North Alabama to meet a large expedition from Memphis, under the Federal General, Sturgis. This expedition was composed of about 8,000 troops, mostly infantry and artillery, and had been carefully and secretly organized under special instructions of General Sherman. (See his letter, Nashville, April 19th, 1864. *Conduct of the War*, Part I.) He said: "I have sent Sturgis down to take command and whip Forrest." This expedition was intended to revenge Fort Pillow. It had two regiments of negroes who had sworn to show no quarter to Forrest's command, and it had but one object, namely, "to whip Forrest." It was not known to either General Lee or General Forrest that this expedition was to start until it was well on its way. It found the Confederate forces scattered. Chalmers in Alabama to protect the iron interests and magazines, and Forrest "en route" to Middle Tennessee to operate on Sherman's communications.

General Forrest, with his usual promptness, retraced his steps.

General Lee met him at Baldwin on the 7th, and it was determined to concentrate and fight Sturgis near Okolona. Lee left Baldwin on the 9th, directing Forrest to put the troops in motion to carry out the plan agreed on, throwing his troops between Sturgis and Tupelo. Early on the morning of the 10th before dawn, Forrest was in motion and soon received information that the enemy would cross his road; in fact, his advance was not far from his front. With that decision and promptness which was peculiar to him he determined to fight the enemy, and, having so decided, he united his troops, not one-third of the number of his antagonist, so rapidly against him that he had him routed before he knew what he was about, and before his army could be arranged properly for battle. (See details of battle in *Forrest's Campaigns*.) Sturgis had 9,000 men, Forrest about 3,000. Sturgis was routed, lost all his artillery, 200 wagons, nearly 2,000 prisoners, nearly 2,000 killed in the battle and pursuit. The remainder of the army lost all organization and returned to Memphis an unorganized mass. It was as complete an affair as occurred during the war. The fighting was very severe and Forrest lost about 500 men in killed and wounded.

As might be supposed this rout and disaster of General Sturgis with an army of 9,000 men, equipped by Sherman especially to whip Forrest, stung the Federals to the quick. The successes of Forrest so enraged them that they determined to crush him, and at once preparations on a large scale were inaugurated. The expedition from Memphis was organized under command of Major-General A. J. Smith, who had his veteran division, regarded as one of the best in the Federal army, about 9,000 strong. With this division he had 3,000 cavalry with artillery and other troops to make his command 15,000 effective men. This force left LaGrange on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad about July 5th.

In co-operation with this expedition Major-General Slocum, with a large infantry force, marched from Vicksburg to Jackson.

Another expedition started from the vicinity of Baton Rouge.

Major-General Canby about the same time moved a large force against Mobile, landing his troops and commencing an attack on the forts in Mobile harbor, in conjunction with the fleet.

Major-General Rousseau, on the 8th of July, started on a raid against the Montgomery and Opelika Railroad from Decatur, Ala.

General Lee hardly had troops sufficient to meet any one of these five expeditions from almost as many opposite points in his department. He at once, however, determined to concentrate his available forces and fight the column from Memphis. Chalmers had been recalled from Alabama. Mabry, with his brigade, had been moved up from the vicinity of Yazoo River. Major-General Forrest was ordered to prepare for the coming battle.

Early in July these several expeditions were started. Smith, with the Memphis column, numbering 15,000 men, including his own veteran division of infantry, left LaGrange on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad on the 5th of July. This army was carefully organized, having the requisite artillery and cavalry. (See Canby's letter, June 27, 1864, *Conduct of War*, Part I.)

General Slocum was marching on Jackson on the 8th and was in Jackson on the 9th.

General Canby was landing troops near the forts of Mobile harbor on the 10th and 11th of July, and the fort was attacked on the 12th.

General Lee repaired to Forrest's headquarters on the 8th of July, and preparations were at once made to fight Smith. The Federal General moved very slowly and cautiously, taking over a week to march from LaGrange to Pontotoc, Miss., about sixty or seventy miles, his line of march being apparently towards Okolona. He determined not to be caught as Sturgis was and moved almost in continuous line of battle. General Forrest gradually concentrated his command in the vicinity of Pontotoc, where Smith arrived on the 11th of July. It was supposed that Smith's objective point was Okolona, and it was determined by General Lee to fight him near that point.

Smith remained all day of the 12th in Pontotoc, reconnoitering mainly on the Houston and Tupelo roads. On this date General Lee heard that the forts at Mobile were attacked, and General Maury earnestly desired the detachment from Mobile to be returned at once, as he was threatened with a grave attack

by land and water. General Rousseau was also reported moving towards Montgomery, Ala. These circumstances, taken in connection with the slow movements and defensive policy of the Federal General Smith, decided General Lee to deliver battle at once. And on the night of the 12th all the dismounted troops were ordered from Okolona to a point four miles from Pontotoc, on the Okolona road, where most of Forrest's command were concentrated and ready for battle.

Early on the morning of the 13th Major-General Forrest made a reconnaissance in force towards Pontotoc, and he soon discovered that the enemy was in motion eastward on the Tupelo road. General Lee directed Forrest to pursue the enemy while he put Chalmers' and Buford's troops in motion from the Okolona road towards the Pontotoc and Tupelo road, to strike the enemy "en route" to Tupelo. Chalmers, with Rucker's brigade, struck the enemy at a point about twelve miles from Pontotoc, while Buford, with Bell's brigade and Mabry's battery, struck the enemy seven miles from Tupelo. Both of these attacks found the enemy's infantry ready to receive them, and after some severe fighting were driven back by the enemy.

General Forrest, however, having been re-enforced by Rucker, followed the enemy into Tupelo, skirmishing heavily with their rear guard. It was discovered early in the night of the 13th that the Federal forces were in line of battle about a mile east of Tupelo, at a crossroad known as Harrisburg; skirmishers having been thrown out towards the Federal position. The Confederate forces bivouacked about one and one-half miles on the Pontotoc road from the Federals. The weather was excessively hot and the troops much fatigued from the continuous marching and fighting of the last few days. The dismounted troops, about 2,000, scarcely came up before the morning of the 13th. They were much exhausted from the long march of over forty miles since the night of the 12th, and straggled considerably.

Before daylight on the morning of the 14th General Lee had arranged his line of battle as follows: fronting the Federal line and as near as possible parallel to it, Roddy's division of Patterson's and Johnston's brigades, about 1,500 men, on the right, and Buford's division on his immediate left, brigades arranged

from right to left as follows: Kentucky brigade on the right next to Bell, then Mabry (2,300 men), Lyon's dismounted command (not fully up) of artillery, the battalion from Mobile (900 men), Gholson's brigade (600 men) and Neely's brigade (600 men), in all 2,100, and McCullough's and Rucker's brigades of cavalry, under General Chalmers, being a second line or in reserve. Early on the morning of the 14th every effort was made to draw the enemy from his position and force him to attack. Instead of his doing so the indications were that he was preparing to leave his line and continue his retreat on the road leading from Tupelo towards Ripley. General Lee thought best to force the fight, and General Forrest concurred with him in this opinion. Arrangements were accordingly made to immediately attack the enemy. The position held by the enemy was a good one, but not much better than that held by the Confederates for delivering battle.

Orders were issued for the divisions of Roddy and Buford to attack, and the time fixed for the attack. General Lee arranged the troops on the left in person, while General Forrest moved to the right to arrange them. When both divisions were reported ready the order was given to advance, Morton's battery and Rice's battery accompanying Buford. Buford's division moved forward promptly at the command. Never did troops display more gallantry, the officers leading the men. The command, as they approached the Federal line, returned the fire of the enemy, moving steadily up all the time to within seventy yards in front of Mabry's and Bell's brigades, when the troops took cover and continued the firing. The Kentucky brigade moved forward with cheers also up to the enemy. Morton's and Rice's battery opened a heavy fire on the enemy, Morton's battery and Mabry's brigade driving off the artillery of the enemy opposite them.

By some unaccountable mistake Roddy did not move forward at all. This enabled the enemy to concentrate on Buford and reinforce his right, from which his artillery had been driven, and his fire much slackened by the impetuous and persistent fighting of Mabry, and also Rucker, who had been hurried up on the left. The Kentucky brigade was driven back, owing to its flank being uncovered by Roddy's not advancing or taking

part in the battle, as he had been ordered. The other brigades held their ground close up to the enemy, fighting desperately.

General Lee, who had personally put in the troops on the left soon discovered that Roddy was not fighting, and going in that direction he met General Forrest, who stated that, owing to the disastrous repulse of the Kentuckians, who had gone forward too soon, he did not deem it prudent to push Roddy into the fight, but had moved him to fill the gap left by the Kentuckians. This misfortune of Roddy's not moving forward at the same time with Buford enabled the enemy to punish Buford terribly. General Lee, seeing this and knowing it was too late to remedy the matter, withdrew the troops on his fighting line.

## THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

BY FRANK JOHNSTON.<sup>1</sup>

### I. THE BATTLE OF CHICKASAW BAYOU.

The initial attack upon Vicksburg was begun in the summer of 1862, after the capture of New Orleans by the Federals, by the appearance of a large fleet of gun boats and mortar boats, and ships of war with a number of transports at a point on the Mississippi river opposite Vicksburg, and across the peninsula which is formed by a long bend in the river. The bombardment of Vicksburg then began, and was kept up continuously until the surrender of that city on July 4, 1863.

After several months of heavy bombardment by the Federal fleet it became evident that the surrender, or evacuation of Vicksburg could not be effected in that manner, while it also became evident to the Federal commander that a direct assault by land forces under the fire of the Federal fleet was impracticable, owing to the natural strength of the Confederate position and to the formidable character of the Confederate fortifications, and of the heavy batteries that commanded every portion of Vicksburg's water front, as well as the Mississippi river above and below the town within the range of the heavy artillery in use at that time. Under the concentrated fire of the Confederate batteries and infantry, the Federals could not have landed their infantry on the water front for an assault upon the town.

Vicksburg is built upon high hills that overlook and command the Mississippi river, and also the lowlands of the peninsula on the west, behind which lay the Federal fleet.

It was strongly fortified by the heaviest grade of field works all along its rear from a point on the Mississippi river at the northern limits of the town to a point on the river at the southern limits of the city, thus forming a semi-circle, while its river front was lined with redoubts for heavy artillery and rifle pits for infantry; and, as was finally demonstrated by the long and memorable

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<sup>1</sup>A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 65-67.  
—EDITOR.

siege in the spring and summer of 1863, the place was practically impregnable against any assault either in front or rear.

In December, 1862, an important movement was made against the Confederate field works at Chickasaw Bayou, at a point about four miles northeast of Vicksburg, on the Vicksburg and Snyder's Bluff Road.

On December 26, 1862, General Sherman, with about twenty-five thousand troops on transports, and with a fleet of gunboats, moved up the Yazoo river, and, under the fire of his gunboats, disembarked his troops near the mouth of Chickasaw Bayou on the eastern bank of the Yazoo river at a point about one mile and a half or a quarter from the Confederate works, which were on the line of the Vicksburg and Snyders' Bluff road, with the purpose of capturing those works, and taking Vicksburg in the rear.

The Confederate position was naturally very strong. A line of rifle pits, with redoubts for field artillery, extended along and on the western side of the road leading from Vicksburg to Snyder's Bluff at the foot of a range of high hills, from a point on a bayou or lagoon on the Confederate left, to a point above the Blake plantation, terminating on the Confederate right in an impassable swamp, and with only one road, or causeway, through this swamp from the Yazoo river. This causeway led from the Yazoo river to Blake's levee which was at the eastern edge of the swamp, and ran thence across an open field about seven yards to the Vicksburg and Snyder's Bluff road to a point near the right of the Confederate works. This road was covered by both the artillery and infantry fire of the Confederate right.

There was also a road from the landing on the Yazoo river near, and below the mouth of Chickasaw Bayou, that ran to the east through the woods, crossing the dry bed of an old bayou about five or six hundred yards in front of the center of the Confederate works, and from thence it ran across an open plain to the Vicksburg and Snyders' Bluff road.

There were only two approaches from the Yazoo river to the Confederate works, one, the causeway through the swamp on the Confederate right, and which came out at the Blake levee, and the other was the road at Chickasaw Bayou from the Yazoo river to the road from Vicksburg to Snyders' Bluff, which was just in the rear of the Confederate works.

General Sherman thought that there was another practicable approach through the woods to the left of the Confederate works which could be utilized by throwing a pontoon bridge across the bayou, or lagoon that protected the Confederate left; but in this he was mistaken.

On the line of hills which ran parallel with and to the rear of the Confederate rifle pits several heavy siege guns were mounted in strong and commanding positions. In fact, there was but one practicable approach to the Confederate works from the point where General Sherman made his landing, and that was by the Chickasaw Bayou road opposite the Confederate center.

From the Confederate right to within a few hundred yards of Snyders' Bluff on the Yazoo river, the ground for some distance from the river was swampy and overflowed, and was entirely impassable. At Snyders' Bluff on the Yazoo river, which was about four miles above Blake's and opposite the Confederate right, there was an immense raft anchored across the Yazoo river which was protected, and covered, by heavy fortifications for artillery and infantry.

Thus, all of the points to the right of the Confederate works at Chickasaw Bayou were amply protected against any flanking movements in that direction. From the left of the Confederate works to the point on the Mississippi river where the main fortifications of Vicksburg proper reached that river, there was an impracticable and impassable swamp with only one road or cause-way that ran to the main fortifications of the city, and which was easy to defend. Thus the only practicable approach for the Federals was by the Chickasaw Bayou road which crossed the plain directly in front of the Confederate center.

In front of the center of the Confederate lines and extending towards the Confederate right the ground was open for a distance of from five or six hundred yards, and between this open plain and the Yazoo river the ground was swampy and heavily timbered. The Yazoo river was about one mile and a half from the Confederate works.

General Sherman had four divisions of infantry in his movement against Chickasaw Bayou, with a proper complement of light artillery, numbering in all about 25,000 troops. The four

Federal divisions were commanded by General E. Steele, General G. W. Morgan, General A. J. Smith, and General M. L. Smith.

Early on the morning of December 26th, 1862, General Sherman began the disembarkation of his forces under cover of his gunboats, and immediately began some sharp fighting with a heavy Confederate skirmish line that had been thrown out to delay his approach.

On the 27th he made an advance towards the Confederate works, which was resisted by a heavy Confederate skirmish line which General Stephen D. Lee, who commanded the Confederate forces on the field, had thrown out across the Chickasaw Bayou road, and on the front of his main line of rifle pits.

On the 27th there was heavy fighting in front of the Confederate works by a part of the forces of General Lee, who was determined to delay General Sherman's advance as long as possible.

During the day of the 28th the Federal center was advanced as far as the eastern edge of the woods in the direction of the Confederate main line, and General Lee's advance forces were withdrawn within the main works and his advanced position was abandoned.

During the 29th General Steele made repeatedly vigorous and gallant attempts to advance his command along the causeway and effect a lodgment on the Blake levee ready to join in the general assault on the Confederate works that were planned for the following morning. But he was repeatedly driven back by the 46th Mississippi and the 17th Louisiana Infantry, and Bowman's Battery and Frank Johnston's section of Napoleon guns of Ridley's Battery, both of William T. Withers 1st regiment of Mississippi Light Artillery. There was also heavy fighting all along the lines on the 29th and during the entire day.

The next morning, the 30th, General Sherman had made the final disposition of his troops for an assault, all along his line, against the Confederate works.

Morgan's and M. L. Smith's divisions were in the order already stated. Thayer's and Blair's Brigades of Steele's division were brought from the Federal left to support Morgan and M. L. Smith. And as General Steele had reported to General Sher-

man that the causeway at Blake's was impracticable, owing to its terrible exposure to the fire from the Confederate right, General Sherman, therefore, abandoned the idea of again attempting to advance his left in any movements towards Blake's levee.

Gen. A. J. Smith, on the right of the Federal line, attempted to cross a bayou or lagoon by throwing a pontoon bridge across it and thus assault the Confederate left.

General Sherman says, in his official report of the battle of Chickasaw Bayou, that his main purpose was to break the Confederate center and then to turn to his own right towards Vicksburg, or to his left towards Snyders' Bluff, as the situation might indicate.

At 10 o'clock on the morning of the 30th three Federal batteries opened, as General Lee termed it in his official report, "a furious cannonade on the Confederate works," and this continued without any cessation until the general assault began about 11 o'clock.

Morgan's and M. L. Smith's Divisions, with Thayer's and Blair's Brigades moved out of the woods in heavy columns, crossed the dry bed of the bayou in front of the center of the Confederate works and about five or six hundred yards distant, and deployed into line of battle in splendid style under a heavy fire of infantry and artillery, and charged the Confederate works across the open fields.

The Federal line came within fifty yards of the Confederate works before it wavered, but when within about thirty paces of the Confederate line, it lost its formation and fell back to the cover of the woods under a terrible fire of artillery and infantry. A partial assault was renewed against the center of the Confederate left, but was not vigorously pressed, and was easily repulsed.

Gen. A. J. Smith, simultaneously with the advance of the Federal center, moved promptly towards the Confederate left, and threw a pontoon bridge over the first bayou that he reached, and crossed his command over it in admirable style under a heavy fire of the Confederate artillery. But after advancing he found a second lagoon or bayou between his forces and the Confederate works, which was so strongly commanded by both the infantry and artillery fire of the Confederates that its crossing was entirely impracticable, and he accordingly withdrew his command. His effective participation in the general assault was impossible.

On the 31st there was some light fighting along the lines. General Sherman, after burying his dead and removing his wounded from the battlefield under a flag of truce, fell back with all of his troops to the Yazoo river and reembarked his forces on his transports, followed closely by General Lee with several regiments of infantry and Johnston's section of artillery. Thus ended the first attempt to take Vicksburg by a movement against its rear.

General Sherman's forces on this expedition consisted of thirty-four regiments of infantry and three batteries of light artillery, estimated at about 20,000 or 25,000 men. In the charge or assault of the 30th there were actively engaged in the heavy fighting and excluding the troops on the Federal left and right, approximately about 8,000 troops, while the Confederates numbered infantry and artillery, at the time of the charge, about 4,000 men. The Federal loss in killed and wounded and captured was 1,776, and of this number there were 1,173 killed and wounded. The Confederates lost a total of 187 in killed and wounded, with none captured.

## II. THE GREENWOOD EXPEDITION.

In March, 1863, General Grant, who was then in command of the Federal forces that were operating against Vicksburg, sent an expedition of infantry on transports, with a fleet of gun-boats against Fort Pemberton near Greenwood for the purpose of effecting a landing and of securing a base of operations for a movement against Vicksburg from the north.

The Federal gunboats bombarded Fort Pemberton heavily for several hours, to which the guns of the fort replied with great vigor. The Federals found that they could not reduce the fort so as to effect a landing, and as that was the only point where a landing of troops could be effected, owing to the high water and general overflow, the expedition was withdrawn. And thus the second attempt to capture Vicksburg from the rear and from the north of the place was abandoned.

## III. THE BRUINSBURG MOVEMENT.

In April, 1863, the movements that have already been described having proved ineffectual, General Grant conceived the plan of

operating against the rear of Vicksburg with his naval and land forces combined, by a movement south of the town, by running the Confederate batteries at Vicksburg, Warrenton and Grand Gulf with his fleet of war vessels, and his transports loaded with military stores, and of crossing his army at Bruinsburg on the Mississippi river just below Grand Gulf. Bruinsburg at that time, owing to the general high water and overflow of the Mississippi river, was the first point on the Mississippi below Warrenton at which a landing could be effected.

During that month General Grant assembled his forces at Milliken's Bend on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi river, a point about twelve miles above Vicksburg, preparatory to the movement for the crossing at Bruinsburg. On April 16th the Federal fleet of war vessels, with a number of transports loaded with supplies, ran the Vicksburg and Warrenton Batteries with comparatively small loss; and General Grant at once began the march to Bruinsburg with the army corps of General McPherson and General McClernand. On April 22d, five other transports with twelve barges all loaded with supplies, ran the Confederate batteries safely at Vicksburg and Warrenton.

General Sherman, with his corps, and a fleet of gunboats and transports, was sent up the Yazoo river to make a demonstration in force against Snyders' Bluff for the purpose of diverting General Pemberton's attention from the Bruinsburg movement.

Before describing General Grant's movement against Vicksburg from Bruinsburg, a brief description will be given of the territory which formed the theater of these military operations; also of the number and disposition of General Pemberton's forces at the time when General Grant effected his crossing at Bruinsburg.

The Big Black river runs from the northeast to the southwest, and at its nearest point where the A. and V. Railroad crosses it, is twelve miles east of Vicksburg. It empties into the Mississippi a short distance above Grand Gulf. The A. and V. Railroad, at that time known as the Southern Railroad, runs east from Vicksburg through Jackson to Meridian.

Edwards is six miles east of the Big Black river, Bolton is ten miles east of Edwards, Clinton is seven miles east of Bolton, and

Jackson is nine miles east of Clinton, and forty-five miles east of Vicksburg. Jackson is also on the line of the I. C. Railroad, which runs north and south. All of these towns are on the A. and V. Railroad.

Grand Gulf, on the Mississippi river, is twenty-five miles on a direct line, below Vicksburg. Bruinsburg is seven miles below Grand Gulf and on the Mississippi river. Port Gibson, an inland town, is seven miles southwest of Grand Gulf, and about twelve miles east of Bruinsburg. Raymond is about ten miles southeast from Edwards, and seven miles southeast from Bolton, and about the same distance southwest of Clinton. Mississippi Springs is four miles northeast of Raymond, five miles south of Clinton, and about ten miles southwest of Jackson. Hankinson's Ferry is fifteen miles, in a direct line, south of Vicksburg on the Big Black river. There are one or two ferries between Hankinson's and the A. and V. Railroad bridge, across Big Black river.

About one hundred yards below this bridge there is a ferry, and at that point there was a pontoon bridge on the dirt road leading from Edwards to Vicksburg. About one mile or three-quarters of a mile east of the pontoon bridge on the Edwards and Vicksburg dirt road, there was a line of rifle pits and redoubts extending in a half circle from a point on the Big Black river above the railroad bridge to a point south where these works on their right were protected by a heavy swamp. In front of these works there was a small bayou. Chickasaw Bayou is four miles from Vicksburg on the Vicksburg and Snyders' Bluff road. Snyders' Bluff is nine miles from Vicksburg on the Yazoo river. Both of these points were fortified, and at Snyders' Bluff a large raft across the river was commanded by heavy artillery. Port Hudson is ninety miles from Vicksburg on the Mississippi river, and about fifty miles west of the nearest point on the I. C. Railroad.

Lieutenant General Pemberton, who was in the direct and immediate command of this department, had, at the time when General Grant crossed the Mississippi river at Bruinsburg, stating it in round numbers, 55,500 available, effective, fighting men, present and fit for duty. He had 65,000 troops present and fit for duty, including the men who did not go on the fighting line.

These troops were at that time stationed at Snyders' Bluff, Chickasaw Bayou, Vicksburg, Grand Gulf, and Port Hudson. A small force was also at Jackson. There was also a small force of cavalry in northwest Mississippi, consisting of probably eight hundred effective men.

Lieutenant General Joseph E. Johnston, at that time, was at Tullahoma, Tennessee, in the active command of the Army of Tennessee, and nominally in command of this department.

General Johnston, in *Johnston's Narrative*, says that while nominally in command of the Department of Mississippi, he had not, owing to directions or instructions sent him from the War Department at Richmond, the entire control of the details of military operations in Mississippi until May 9, 1863, when he was ordered by the Confederate Secretary of War to this department to take the direction of the military operations here in person. While technically in command of both armies, the Army of Tennessee and the Vicksburg army, he was expected to give immediate and direct personal attention to military operations in Tennessee rather than in Mississippi. Yet his orders to General Pemberton were authoritative as the commanding officer of both armies. This is set out in *Johnston's Narrative*. There is nothing in any official records nor in the voluminous official controversy that ensued after the fall of Vicksburg, in the official reports of General Pemberton or the correspondence of Mr. Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, to indicate that General Johnston's orders to General Pemberton issued prior to his coming to Mississippi in person under the order of the Confederate Secretary of War of May 9, 1863, were given without authority, or that they were not binding on General Pemberton.

This was the situation on the Confederate side at the time when General Grant crossed the Mississippi at Bruinsburg. The crossing at Bruinsburg marked the beginning of the hazards that were assumed by General Grant in his march through the country in his skillful and daring movement against the rear of Vicksburg. At the same time, this formidable and dangerous movement of the Federal commander was speedily to develop the conflicts and divisions of the Confederate authorities in respect to the plan of defense against General Grant's tactics and strategy.

On April 29th the Federal fleet bombarded the Confederate works at Grand Gulf in order to silence the Confederate batteries, and effect the crossing of the Federal army at that point. But this was found to be impracticable, and accordingly the Federal fleet ran the batteries at Grand Gulf and the crossing was effected the next day at Bruinsburg, which is seven or eight miles below Grand Gulf. The Federal forces consisted then of General McPherson's and General McClernand's corps, General Sherman not having yet rejoined General Grant.

On April 29th General Pemberton telegraphed General Johnston that General Grant was at "Hard Times Plantation" on the Louisiana side of the river, at a point nearly opposite Bruinsburg in heavy force, and was about to cross the river. To this General Johnston replied by telegraph at once, directing General Pemberton to concentrate all of his available forces promptly and meet General Grant in the field.

On May 2d so impressed was General Johnston with the urgency of this concentration movement of the Confederate forces, that he again telegraphed General Pemberton to concentrate all of his troops and beat General Grant in the field, telling him that success in the field would give back what he had abandoned to win it.

General Pemberton promptly replied by a telegram on the same day, May 2d, which was sent to General Johnston and to Mr. Davis contemporaneously, but independently, saying in effect that unless he was promptly and heavily reinforced, it was his purpose to evacuate both Vicksburg and Port Hudson and concentrate all of his forces in the field against General Grant for the defense of the line of the A. and V. Railroad.

This was an assurance at once to General Johnston that his orders were understood and that his plan of campaign was to be carried out. And it was at the same time a notification to Mr. Davis of his purpose to evacuate Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and concentrate his entire force and meet General Grant in a decisive battle in the field as the latter moved up to the line of the A. and V. Railroad.

To this telegram Mr. Davis replied on May 7th, ordering General Pemberton peremptorily, and without leaving any discretion

to him, to hold both Vicksburg and Port Hudson, as they were essential to maintaining communication with the Trans-Mississippi Department, and assuring him that he would do all in his power to relieve him. This necessarily contemplated and involved the investment and siege of both places.

It will be seen later how this order stopped the preliminary movements or dispositions of General Pemberton for a general concentration of his entire force of 55,000 in the field for a general engagement with General Grant's army, and how it led to the vacillating movements and the apparent indecision of General Pemberton subsequent to its reception by him.

#### IV. THE BATTLE OF PORT GIBSON.

General Grant, after running the Confederate batteries at Grand Gulf with his fleet, crossed his army at Bruinsburg, overcoming easily the small force of Confederates that disputed his landing at that point. He at once moved out on the Port Gibson road with his entire force. In the meantime, Gen. John S. Bowen's Division had been sent to Grand Gulf to delay General Grant's march, and General Bowen was then ordered to meet General Grant on his movement from Bruinsburg, which he did on the Bruinsburg and Port Gibson road, about two miles below Port Gibson, and fought the battle of Port Gibson. This battle continued all day, General Bowen holding his ground during that time by the most desperate fighting, against a greatly superior force. The country at that point was rough, woody and broken, and all the Federal troops that could be placed on the battlefield were put into the fight. General McClernand, whose corps had the Federal advance, called on General Grant during the heaviest of the fighting for reinforcements, but General Grant says in his official report that he then had all the troops on the firing line that could be disposed of, owing to the topography of the country.

Late that evening General Bowen fell back in the direction of Hankinson's Ferry, crossing the Bayou Pierre, and made another stand the next day on this stream or bayou. After some heavy fighting General Grant got control of this stream and effected a crossing, when General Bowen fell back again and crossed the

Big Black river at Hankinson's Ferry, and moved up towards Baldwin's Ferry and the railroad bridge. General Grant made no attempt to follow him, but held both of his corps at Hankinson's Ferry until the 7th, when General Sherman joined him with his army corps.

#### V. THE MARCH AGAINST VICKSBURG.

In the meantime General Johnston, before the order of Mr. Davis of May 7th, asked General Pemberton to inform him of the exact disposition of his forces that had been made in the execution of his former orders for the general concentration, giving the number of troops at each point. To this General Pemberton replied promptly, giving the location of his troops in the preliminary movement or disposition as follows:

A division near Baldwin's Ferry on the Big Black river; a heavy force at the railroad bridge, and a force at or near Jackson. Two brigades consisting of about 5,000 men had been withdrawn from Port Hudson, and were moving to Jackson, and a large force was still at Port Hudson. There was a force at Hayne's or Snyder's Bluff, and one at Chickasaw Bayou. Some of the troops had been moved down to a point near Vicksburg, and there was a large force in Vicksburg. In all, these forces amounted to 55,500 effective troops.

General Johnston approved this by a telegram in reply, stating that in his judgment, this was a judicious disposition of his troops, preliminary to the contemplated concentration of all of his forces for an open pitched battle in the field with General Grant's army. This correspondence all preceded the order of Mr. Davis of May 7th, and up to the time of the reception of that order, as is shown by General Pemberton's telegram in reply to General Johnston's request for a report of his concentration movements, General Pemberton was proceeding to execute the plan of concentration in the field, and the evacuation of Vicksburg and Port Hudson according to the orders of General Johnston.

After May 7th, General Pemberton made no further movements for a concentration of his forces in the field, but held to Port Hudson and Vicksburg as directed by Mr. Davis, and made an ineffectual effort to meet the Federal army, as it moved up

the country towards the A. and V. Railroad with Vicksburg as its main objective point by detachments of his own forces, holding Vicksburg and Port Hudson all of the time, and covering Vicksburg by every movement that he made in the field.

Thus, one brigade was sent to Raymond, which fought the battle of Raymond on May 12th against at least an army corps of the Federal army. He later fought two of General Grant's army corps at Champion Hill with less than three divisions. On the next day he also fought the battle of Big Black with 2,500 troops against an overwhelming Federal force. Then followed the investment of Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

All of General Pemberton's movements after May 7th demonstrate clearly that his main purpose and intention, according to the wishes and the order of that date of the Confederate President, was to hold these two places, awaiting the inevitable investments, and in the meantime to make some movements with detached forces in the field covering Vicksburg, taking that as the base of operations and the point to fall back to upon a retreat. In this he effectually and practically abandoned General Johnston's plan of campaign, which had been accepted and adopted so promptly by him in obedience to the orders of General Johnston of May 1st and May 2d.

Upon the arrival of General Sherman with his corps at Hankinson's Ferry on May 7th the Federal army then consisted of three army corps, amounting in the aggregate to about 45,000 troops. General Grant began at once his advance against Vicksburg, his immediate objective point being Edwards on the A. and V. Railroad, as stated by him in his official report.

General McClernand's corps moved on the road nearest the Big Black river, under the immediate direction of General Grant, hugging the Big Black as near as possible, and threatening every ferry and crossing point on that river. General McPherson moved out on the Willow Springs road, which was further east from the river. General Sherman's corps was divided, moving on both roads.

These two columns were in easy supporting distance of each other. The advance of the column on the right reached Raymond about the 11th, or early on the 12th of May, where the battle of Raymond was fought on the morning of the latter date.

## VI. THE BATTLE OF RAYMOND.

In the meantime General Pemberton had been inactive, except that he ordered the two brigades, Gregg's and Walker's, that had been brought up from Port Hudson, and were near Jackson about the 10th, to meet the Federal forces that were moving towards Raymond.

General Gregg marched to Raymond and fought the battle of Raymond, two miles below that place on May 12th. For some reason, not explained, General Walker did not join in this movement, but went into Jackson.

General Gregg had Bledsoe's Battery with him, and had in all about 2,500 troops. The Confederates occupied a good position on a creek in a heavy woods, which they held for the greater part of the day against heavy odds, and upon leaving the field retreated to Jackson. This increased the force in Jackson to about 6,000 troops.

General Sherman's corps, and General McPherson's corps marched at once to Clinton and Mississippi Springs, thus being placed within easy supporting distance and being between the forces of Pemberton at and near Vicksburg and the Confederate force at Jackson.

## VII. THE BATTLE OF CHAMPION HILL.

In the meantime General Pemberton had united the divisions of Generals Stephenson, Bowen and Loring, in all 17,500 men, leaving his other troops at Vicksburg, Chickasaw Bayou and Snyder's Bluff. He began to move this column across Big Black at the pontoon bridge in the direction of Edwards.

General Johnston, on May 9th, was ordered to Jackson by the Confederate Secretary of War to take command of the Vicksburg army in person. He reached that place on the evening of the 13th, and immediately telegraphed his arrival to Richmond, stating that the Federals in heavy force were between Pemberton's forces and Jackson. He added that he would do all in his power, but said, "I am too late."

On the 14th General Sherman and General McPherson moved against Jackson and attacked the small force of 6,000 Confed-

erates at that place. General Johnston, then in command, held the rifle pits several hours, until all his wagon trains with their supplies, had moved out, taking with them a large quantity of military supplies that were stored in the town. General Johnston then retreated a few miles north of Jackson on the Canton road, from which point he endeavored to effect a junction with General Pemberton's forces, then near Edwards. General Pemberton had moved his column of the three divisions of Generals Loring, Stephenson, and Bowen, consisting of 17,500 effective troops to a point a little east of Edwards.

In the meantime General Sherman's corps remained in Jackson to destroy a lot of military supplies that General Johnston could not move when he retreated from the town. General McPherson moved his corps from Jackson towards Edwards to effect a junction with General McClernand's corps, which was then moving up the country towards the A. and V. Railroad. These two corps were converging, and came together at or near Champion Hill, which is about four or five miles east and a little south of Edwards.

On May 14th General Pemberton sent a dispatch by a courier to General Johnston saying that he proposed to strike the Federals at Dillon's, which is a point a few miles south of Raymond, and cut their communication with their base of operations. On May 15th, on the receipt of this dispatch, General Johnston sent a dispatch to General Pemberton, telling him that such a movement was impracticable, that no junction of their forces could be effected in that manner, and directing him to move by way of Clinton, and thus effect the junction. On the night of the 13th General Johnston sent a dispatch to General Pemberton telling him that there were several Federal divisions in Clinton, and to strike them in the rear, if possible. This dispatch had apparently no effect upon General Pemberton's movements, for he was inactive during the 14th and a part of the 15th. If he had marched rapidly towards Clinton on the morning of the 14th, he would probably have met General McPherson on his march towards Edwards, and before his junction with General McClernand, who was then south of Edwards, when relative numbers would have been about equal. Instead of this, there was no forward movement on the 14th.

On the afternoon of the 15th General Pemberton moved his troops a few miles to the east and bivouacked at Champion Hill that night. General McPherson's advance division, commanded by General Hovey, must have then been near Champion Hill, and General McClernand's advance must have been nearly up at that time.

On the 15th of May, General Johnston sent an urgent dispatch by a courier to General Pemberton to join him by moving toward Clinton and north of the A. & V. Railroad. This would have taken General Pemberton on a line of march north of McPherson's column without striking the latter. It is probable that if the movement had been skillfully executed a junction would have been effected.

This dispatch General Pemberton received at 6:30 A. M. on the 16th, the day of the battle of Champion Hill. General Pemberton at once attempted the execution of this order. He sent his wagon trains to the rear for a movement on the north of the A. & V. Railroad, detaching General Reynold's Brigade of 2,500 men to guard these wagon trains, and began the issuance of orders for the movement of his troops.

Before his troops could be moved the Federal skirmish line of General Hovey's Division struck the Confederate pickets and General Pemberton abandoned the proposed movement as impracticable. He then placed his troops in line of battle and fought the battle of Champion Hill.

General Johnston, in *Johnston's Narrative*, says that the engagement at Champion Hill did not become general until about 10 o'clock A. M., and that as General McClernand was not up or in position until that time, General Pemberton could have held off the Federal skirmish line and have affected the retrograde movement. About this there well may be a difference of views. General Hovey struck the Confederate picket line on their left, and while the fighting did not extend along the entire line until about 10 o'clock, yet the fighting on the left of the Confederate skirmish line that was soon thrown out, was sharp and hot. A general retrograde movement of the Confederate forces in the face of the heavy force of Federals then on the field, and who were only held off from bringing on a general engagement by General Grant

until General McClernand could get up and be placed in position on the field, would in all probability have provoked a vigorous advance by the Federals, then ready for action, and brought on a disaster to the Confederates. This is, however, largely a matter of opinion.

General Grant, commanding in person on the battlefield, had General McPherson's and General McClernand's corps in the engagement at Champion Hill. General McPherson came from Jackson and General McClernand came up from the south and under the immediate direction of General Grant. General Sherman remained in Jackson.

Having cleared up his rear by driving General Johnston from Jackson, General Grant could then operate directly and exclusively against the forces under General Pemberton in his final and direct movement against Vicksburg.

The order in which General McPherson and General McClernand came to the battlefield naturally placed the former on the right and the latter on the left of the Federal line of battle. Hovey's Division of General McPherson's corps, which was in this advance, was the first to engage the Confederates on their left. The Federal line of battle, when its formation had been completed, extended from a point a little east of Champion Hill on what was known as the upper Edwards road, running almost due south to the lower road that runs from Raymond to Edwards.

General Pemberton's line of battle extended, when at first fully developed, from Champion Hill on his left nearly due south to a point on the lower road opposite the extreme left of the Federal line. General Stevenson's Division was on the Confederate left, General Bowen's Division in the center, and General Loring's Division was on the right of the Confederate line.

The Confederate troops on the field and engaged, after the detachment of Reynold's Brigade to guard the wagon trains, numbered 15,000 men. General Grant's forces engaged in the battle must have numbered, at a conservative estimate, at least 30,000 effective troops.

Heavy skirmishing began early in the morning, not later than 7 o'clock, against Stevenson's Division on the Confederate left, and soon extended throughout his front, and the fighting grew

heavier all the time until about 10 o'clock, when General McCleernand got into position on the Federal left, and then the engagement became general and extended all along the line.

General Grant had directed General McPherson to engage the Confederates, but not to bring on a general engagement until General McCleernand was in position. As has been stated, General McCleernand got his corps into line of battle by 10 o'clock, on the Federal left, and then General McPherson brought on a general engagement by an advance of his forces, and by a flank movement against the Confederate left initiated by General Hovey's command.

As soon as the engagement became general all along the line, General Grant began this flanking movement, which pressed General Stevenson at first severely, and soon involved the entire division of General Bowen. General McCleernand held his line all day, confronting Loring's Division in his front and preventing General Pemberton from reinforcing his left with any part of Loring's troops. If Loring had been weakened by reinforcing the Confederate left he would have opened the way for a forward or a flanking movement by the Federal left on the lower Raymond and Edwards road, which would have threatened or cut off the line of Confederate retreat across Baker's Creek, which was about a mile to the west and in the rear of the Confederate army.

Being pressed all along the line with this vigorous flanking movement against his left, General Pemberton, to meet this movement of the Federals, moved General Stevenson's command to his left and rear; and then in turn, in order to preserve his line of battle intact on his left, he moved General Bowen's line to the left to keep in touch with General Stevenson's right. This left an uncovered gap later in the day between General Bowen's and General Loring's commands.

All day, until late in the evening when the Confederate forces began their retreat from the field, General Grant pressed this terrible flanking movement steadily and fiercely, until at the close of the battle the Confederate line, consisting of General Stevenson's and General Bowen's Division, instead of facing east, as originally formed at the beginning of the battle, were in line

on the upper Edwards and Bolton road extending from east to west and facing north, with General McPherson's corps confronting this new alignment and enveloping the extreme Confederate left at the close of the battle.

Soon after the general engagement began, General Stevenson asked repeatedly for reinforcements, being heavily pressed along his entire front with the Federals pressing the flanking movement, but none were available from the Confederate right for the reasons already explained. General Loring was doing all in his power by facing General McClelland, and by holding his position and control of the lower road which led to Baker's Creek and formed a line of retreat for the Confederates. If Loring had been weakened, General Grant could have thrown General McClelland's troops not only down this road, but could have taken General Bowen and General Stevenson in their rear and cut off their retreat across the bridge on Baker's Creek on the upper Edwards road.

General Stevenson was so hard pressed at one time that he lost ground at Champion's Hill and to the left of the hill, when the Missouri Brigade of General Bowen's Division was moved rapidly to his support, and by a brilliant charge drove back the Federal line and restored the battle at that point.

Finally, late in the day, General Hovey's Division completely turned the extreme left of the Confederate line, occupied by General Barton's Georgia Brigade. Finding himself thus enveloped and in danger of being cut off, General Barton fell back in great disorder. General Stevenson and General Bowen then began at once a retreat from the field and withdrew their troops slowly, but in good order and without losing their formations, crossing Baker's Creek and moving towards Edwards. General Loring, just before the retreat began, started with General Featherston's Brigade of his division to the Confederate left to reinforce General Barton, which was a hazardous if not a desperate movement. But before General Featherston could reach General Barton, the latter had abandoned his position and Generals Stevenson and Bowen were in full retreat.

General Featherston then rejoined General Loring's Division, which was still on the Confederate right and in possession of the lower Edwards road, and which protected the retreat of Generals

Stevenson and Bowen. In accomplishing this difficult task General Loring found that his own retreat to Baker's Creek was cut off, and he finally effected his escape from the battlefield by retreating to the southeast, thus avoiding General McClernand's troops. By crossing Pearl River at Crystal Springs and then marching north, he joined General Johnston on the Jackson and Canton road.

Thus ended this bloody and pivotal battle that culminated in the historic and memorable siege and surrender of Vicksburg.

There was severe fighting on the extreme left of the Confederate line after General Barton's Georgia Brigade had retreated. The effort made by Major Anderson, General Stevenson's chief of artillery, to check the Federal advance with some of Colonel Withers' artillery, is thus described by Major General Loring in his official report of the battle:

"It was here that we witnessed a scene ever to be remembered, when the gallant Withers, and his brave men, with their fine park of artillery stood unflinchingly, amid a shower of shot and shell against the enemy in overwhelming force, after his supports had been driven back, and trusting that a succoring command would arrive in time to save his batteries, and displaying a courage and determination that calls for the most unqualified admiration."

The guns of Colonel Withers' artillery regiment referred to by General Loring, were Lieutenant Sharkey's section, and Lieutenant Frank Johnston's section of Battery A.

The Confederate loss in this battle was, in round numbers, 3,700. Of this, General Loring's loss was 95 or 100; General Bowen's 1,000, and General Stevenson's at least 2,600.

General Grant, in his official report, puts the Federal loss at 2,400.

The Confederate army retreated to Vicksburg, crossing the Big Black River on the pontoon bridge without molestation, on the night of the battle of Champion Hill, leaving a force of about 2,500 troops under the command of General Vaughn in the Confederate works which were about three-quarters of a mile east of the Big Black River.

#### VIII. THE BATTLE OF BIG BLACK.

Early on the morning of May 17th the Federal advance forces attacked the Confederates at Big Black River, and the shot but

bloody battle of Big Black was fought. The battle lasted several hours; when the Confederates being greatly outnumbered, after a hard fought stand retreated across the Big Black river at the pontoon bridge, closely followed by the Federals.

The position of the Confederates was not a strong one, and on the extreme left of the Confederate line the earthworks had been washed away by a recent overflow of the river, which had then subsided, and which had left a long strip of ground unfortified and undefended. It was at this point that the Federals turned the left of the Confederate position.

When the Confederate troops retreated from their field works to cross Big Black River, the Federal advance was soon checked, and the crossing of the Confederate troops was covered and protected by several batteries of Colonel Withers' artillery, which had been massed on the high banks of the western bank of the river, which commanded the level and open plain that stretched from the Big Black River to the Confederate works and for three or four hundred yards beyond the works and across which the Federals were advancing in pursuit of the retreating Confederates.

General Pemberton says, in his official report, that he fought this engagement in the hope that General Loring would come up, and that he would hold the crossing for him.

General Loring was, at the time this battle was fought, safely marching to the south and east or crossing Pearl River on his way to join General Johnston. Besides this, in order to cross the Big Black, General Loring would have had to cut his way through the two Federal army corps that were then moving towards Big Black River. The Confederate loss in this engagement was 1,024, which was nearly one-half of the number engaged.

The troops that fought at Champion Hill, with the exception of General Loring's Division, including General Vaughn's Brigade, all retreated into Vicksburg, and General Pemberton at once brought the troops at Snyder's Bluff and Chickasaw Bayou to Vicksburg. And thus was formed the garrison that held that place through its long and bloody siege.

General Grant threw a pontoon bridge across Big Black River, made the crossing without resistance, and moved up to the works

around Vicksburg. On May 19 the investment was completed and the siege of Vicksburg began.

On May 17 General Johnston sent a dispatch to General Pemberton telling him to move his army at once out of Vicksburg, if it was not too late. He said, save your army.

This dispatch was delivered to General Pemberton in Vicksburg before the investment was completed. On May 18 General Pemberton replied that he had called a conference of his Generals, and the opinion was reached by a majority of them that the morale of his troops was such that they could not be brought out in a condition in which they would be of much benefit to the Confederacy.

That was a strange criticism to make of those troops that had fought heroically and desperately against overwhelming numbers of Federals at Bruinsburg, Port Gibson, Bayou Pierre, Raymond, Champion Hill and Big Black, and who held Vicksburg for forty-seven days, repulsing every assault that was made upon their works by a splendid army which outnumbered them four to one at the close of the siege, and which was commanded by one of the world's great soldiers. It was, moreover, a singular criticism to make of the troops that were at Snyder's Bluff and Chickasaw Bayou, and in Vicksburg, during all the fighting in the field from Bruinsburg to Big Black, and who could not have been affected by those unfortunate defeats and disasters. These were, in every sense, fresh and effective troops and veteran soldiers, and equal in every way to those who had met the Federals in the field in that campaign.

Besides, it will be remembered that the troops surrendered and paroled in Vicksburg after their exchange went with General Hood into his celebrated but disastrous Tennessee campaign and participated nobly in the bloody battles and the hardships of that ill-fated movement.

#### IX. THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

General Sherman soon joined General Grant. During the siege General Grant received heavy reinforcements and was soon strong enough not only to hold Pemberton in Vicksburg, but to repulse any movement that might be made by a relieving force under General Johnston.

A few days after the investment was completed, General Grant made a general assault upon the Confederate works, extending along the entire line. This was repulsed by the Confederates with a loss to the Federals of about 5,000 killed and wounded.

It has been said that the Federal troops were eager for the assault, and were naturally confident of success in view of the results of the campaign from the crossing at Bruinsburg and in their march upon Vicksburg. The Confederate works were very strong and were well defended by infantry and by artillery, both heavy and light. The Federal troops fought splendidly and obstinately, but the Confederate position and defenses were then too strong to be taken by assault.

After that the Federal commander settled down to the slow but sure operation of a siege by gradual approaches. He fortified his rear, out of great prudence, against any possible movement by General Johnston, and began to dig his way, by gradual approaches, to the Confederate works. Every day of the siege was a pitched battle between the infantry and artillery of the two armies. On each side almost daily acts of conspicuous and heroic bravery were displayed on both sides of the contending forces. Towards the latter part of the siege, as the Federal lines were intrenched closer each day to the Confederate fortifications, there was mining and counter-mining on both sides, and the explosion of these mines wrought a heavy list of killed and wounded in each of the hostile lines.

The hardships of the Vicksburg army increased as the siege progressed. The men had no rest or relief day or night. The same troops manned the Confederate works continuously for forty-seven days and nights, fighting, sleeping and eating in the trenches. The provisions soon began to run short and the army was reduced to a mixture of corn and pea meal and mule meat, a diet that killed the men by hundreds. Later this poor and repulsive stuff became so scarce that the ration was still further reduced and almost to the starvation point. It was becoming more apparent every day that the army was being decimated by slow starvation. The end was rapidly approaching, and all hope of a further defense or of relief from General Johnston died out, and the fact became apparent to both officers and men that the surrender of Vicksburg was inevitable.

General Grant sent in a flag of truce on the day before the surrender. And on July 4 General Pemberton surrendered the city and his army to General Grant unconditionally. General Grant was too magnanimous a soldier to impose conditions upon troops that had displayed the heroic and soldierly qualities of the Vicksburg army. He therefore paroled the entire army, according to the officers their horses and side arms and to the men all of their private property of every kind.

Rations were at once issued to the Confederates and stores and supplies of every kind were furnished to the Confederate hospitals. The men of the two armies fraternized at the surrender as cordially as if they had not been fighting each other through a hard campaign and through one of the great sieges of modern times.

Thus ended one of the most celebrated and decisive campaigns of the War of Secession, terminating in the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and securing the permanent severance of the Confederacy, and logically leading to the defeat of the Confederate cause.

General Johnston, upon the investment of Vicksburg, began the work of organizing a force for the purpose of extricating General Pemberton's army, but the Confederate armies everywhere were then so hard pressed that it was impossible to send him the troops necessary for so formidable a movement. General Pemberton's idea, after the investment, to cut his way out of Vicksburg, with General Johnston's co-operation, and thus save his army, was not only a desperate, but an impossible scheme.

General Johnston finally succeeded in getting together about 26,000 troops, and with this small force he was about to cross the Big Black and attempt to relieve the Vicksburg garrison, when General Pemberton surrendered the place with his army. General Johnston's advance troops in this movement had actually reached the Big Black at Mechanicsburg and were just about to ford this stream when the news came of the surrender of Vicksburg.

#### X. COMMENTS ON THE CAMPAIGN.

Upon a review of the Vicksburg campaign, beginning with the movement to Bruinsburg and ending with the investment of

Vicksburg, and upon a clear and intelligent conception and understanding of the positions and strength of General Pemberton's available troops at the beginning of the campaign, it will be perceived that the only correct strategic principle or basis upon which General Grant's army could have been met successfully was that of the prompt and rapid concentration of the Confederate forces, and meeting the Federal army in the field in a general and decisive engagement.

This was General Johnston's conception of the exigencies of the situation, and which was earnestly pressed upon General Pemberton as soon as General Johnston learned of General Grant's Bruinsburg movement.

As has been stated, General Pemberton had 55,500 available, effective and fighting troops under his control at the time when General Grant crossed the Mississippi River with his two army corps of about 30,000 men, at Bruinsburg.

While General Grant lay at Hankinson's Ferry awaiting the arrival of General Sherman's corps, all of General Pemberton's forces could have been concentrated and thrown against General Grant's two corps at that point, and this before the arrival of General Sherman on May 7th. Moreover, this could have been done by General Pemberton before he received the peremptory order of that date from Mr. Davis. All of the troops at Vicksburg, Chickasaw Bayou, Wayne's or Snyder's Bluff and at Jackson could have been concentrated at Hankinson's Ferry before the junction of General Sherman with General Grant. The entire forces at Port Hudson could have been marched to the nearest point on the I. C. Railroad and thence brought to Jackson by rail, and could have co-operated in this movement. General Pemberton, between the receipt of General Johnston's order of May 1st, and the 7th of May, could have effected a concentration of all of his forces at Hankinson's Ferry, in the prompt and vigorous execution of the general plan of campaign directed so positively and unequivocally by General Johnston. Up to the receipt of Mr. Davis' peremptory order that blocked General Johnston's plan of campaign, and that stopped at once General Pemberton's preliminary movements in the execution of General Johnston's orders, General Pemberton had a free hand.

In the absence, however, of any orders from General Johnston, and during that critical and pivotal period in the campaign from the march of General Grant to "Hard Times," General Pemberton could have sent General Loring's and General Stevenson's Divisions, with General Bowen's Division, with enough troops from Chickasaw Bayou, Snyder's Bluff and from Vicksburg to Port Gibson to have fought the battle of Port Gibson with a superior, or at least an equal force. They could have met General Grant on the Bruinsburg-road, in a hilly and broken country, admirably adapted for defense, and under conditions largely favorable for success. With the troops that fought at Champion Hill, with other divisions added, which could have been taken from Vicksburg, Snyder's Bluff and Chickasaw Bayou, General Pemberton would have had, in such an engagement, the preponderating force. In any view of the campaign, General Pemberton had ample time within which to have concentrated a superior force and attacked General Grant while he lay, with two corps, at Hankinson's Ferry, awaiting the arrival of General Sherman. And this might have been done and a decisive battle fought before the order of Mr. Davis of May 7th.

General Pemberton, in his reports to the Confederate Secretary of War, in which he made a critical review of the campaign, said that he expected that the decisive battle would take place on a line south of the A. & V. Railroad. It is therefore not improbable, if left to himself by Mr. Davis, and with a free hand to execute General Johnston's plan of campaign, that he would have made his final concentration on that line instead of attempting to attack General Grant at any point further south. There can be no doubt that even if General Pemberton did not approve General Johnston's plan of campaign *per se*, he promised in his dispatch a prompt acquiescence in General Johnston's directions. It is evident that a concentration of the Confederate forces on a line near the A. & V. Railroad would have had the disadvantage on the Confederate side of operating against three instead of two Federal army corps.

Mr. Davis' conception of the situation in Mississippi and his theory of the Vicksburg campaign was diametrically opposed to General Johnston's plan of campaign. With 55,500 effective

and available troops, Mr. Davis allowed, or required, General Pemberton's forces to be penned up in Vicksburg and Port Hudson, in a state of siege, by a concentrated force of Federals, with only the forlorn hope left of extricating General Pemberton by an outside force, while General Johnston's plan was, by a prompt concentration, to present a superior force in a battle in the field against the advancing Federal army.

A victory in the field under these conditions would have forced General Grant back to the Mississippi River, which he would have been forced to recross to save his army. After General Grant had placed two army corps between the Confederate forces in Jackson and General Pemberton's forces, a successful battle against General Grant was, apparently, impossible.

Mr. Davis said, in his dispatch of May 7th to General Pemberton, that it was necessary to hold both Vicksburg and Port Hudson in order to maintain communication with the Trans-Mississippi Department. In fact, the Confederate control of the Mississippi River was lost when the Federal fleet ran the batteries at Vicksburg, for the Federals were then in the full possession and control of the river, and had an immense fleet of war vessels between Vicksburg and Port Hudson. So that the passage of the river by the Confederates became impossible. The Confederacy was then cut in two, and the Vicksburg campaign was decisive of the fate of the Confederacy in its operations in Mississippi and the West. And this, with Gettysburg, practically decided the fate of the Southern Confederacy.

General Grant's plan for the movement across the Mississippi River was daring and brilliant, and was executed with the caution and skill of a great soldier. His heavy demonstration on the Yazoo River threatened every point on the road from Snyder's Bluff to Vicksburg, while his disposition of General McClernand's corps on his march up the country threatened every crossing on the Big Black River from Hankinson's Ferry to the railroad bridge of the A. & V. Railroad. The rapid movement of General Sherman's and General McPherson's corps cut all communication between the forces of General Johnston and General Pemberton, while the defeat of General Johnston's forces in Jackson, and his retreat on the Canton and Jackson road, cleared General Grant's

rear, and left the way open for his successful attack upon General Pemberton's forces at Champion Hill and the consequent investment and surrender of Vicksburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

1. The correspondence and orders of General Johnston and of General Pemberton are given in *Johnston's Narrative*.
2. There also appear in the several reports of General Pemberton and the several reports of General Johnston to the Confederate Secretary of War, made after the fall of Vicksburg.
3. Mr. Davis, in the *Rise and Fall of the Confederacy*, gives his views of the conduct of the Vicksburg army.
4. The exact number of the Confederate forces at the disposal of General Pemberton is shown by the official reports and muster roll sheets of his Adjutant General of March, 1863, about one month before General Grant's crossing at Bruinsburg. This appears in the *Records of the Rebellion*.
5. The number and movements of the Federal and Confederate forces respectively appear in a "History of the Vicksburg Campaign," by General Stephen D. Lee, in Vol. IV. of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*.
6. The outline of the campaign appears in the reports of General Grant and the reports of his general officers, as well as the reports of the Confederate Generals in the *Records of the Rebellion*, also in General Grant's history of his military operations.

## THE TUPELO CAMPAIGN.

AS NOTED AT THE TIME BY A LINE OFFICER IN THE UNION ARMY.<sup>1</sup>

BY THEODORE GEORGE CARTER.<sup>2</sup>

When General Forrest whipped Sturgis at Brice's Cross Roads, or as we call it, Guntown, Miss., my regiment, the Seventh Minnesota Infantry, was on garrison duty at Paducah, Ky. On June 15th, 1864, our Colonel, William R. Marshall (afterwards Governor of Minnesota two terms), was ordered to report to General Washburne at Memphis, Tenn., as soon as possible. We were not furnished with transportation until on the afternoon of June 19th, when we took passage for Cairo on a new and unfinished boat, the *Belle of St. Louis*, I think it was called. We remained at Cairo until the next day, when we were furnished another boat which took us to Memphis. We arrived at Memphis about midnight, and disembarked the next morning, the 22d. General Washburne ordered us to report to General A. J. Smith, near LaGrange, Tenn., and we left on the cars the same forenoon. We occupied

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<sup>1</sup>The history of the Campaign of Tupelo is based principally on a diary with recollections of details of occurrences, added several years ago, while every incident was fresh in the memory of the writer. Later, as he read numerous books and magazine articles concerning that and other campaigns in which he participated, he made notes to accompany the original paper. Since he became a member of the Mississippi Historical Society, he has wished to abridge what he had written on the Tupelo Campaign, but has not been able to do so on account of ill health. But he had assembled the matter of which he desired to write, and for two years has hoped to be able to put it in shape to be read before the Society. Not seeing any prospect of becoming able to do so, but rather failing as time passes, he has concluded to send the paper as it stands, trusting that its crudeness and prolixness will be overlooked. While it may not interest any of the present generation, the time will come when it will be read by the descendants of the brave old Confederate soldiers whom it was his duty to meet on the field of battle, among whom he now numbers many warm and cherished friends.

<sup>2</sup>Theodore George Carter was born at Friendship, Allegany County, New York, February 28, 1832. Both of his parents were of English descent. His grandfather, Nathan Carter, was a soldier in the War of the Revolution, enlisting twice, the first enlistment being for one year, the service under Arnold in Canada, and the second term for three years. Probably for other terms, unrecorded. His great-grandfather, Nathaniel Carter, and his grandmother, Sarah, were killed by the Indians in North-

box cars, both inside and outside, the men generally preferring the roof. There not being enough box cars, flat cars were used to supply the deficiency. The weight on top of the box cars caused the old rickety things to sway over badly, and it seemed to those on top, as well as those inside, that they would surely collapse, but they did not for the thirty-five miles which took us to our camping ground. One of my men who sat upon a flat car with his legs hanging down over the side, was wiped off by a post which stood close to the track. As the train was very long and there was no bell cord communicating with the engineer, the train could not be stopped. Before we got out of sight we saw him raise himself in a sitting posture, which showed that he was not killed, and as soon as we disembarked, the engine returned for him. He was found about ten miles from our camp doing his best to catch up with us. At this camp we had our first introduction to the "chigger," or red tick. It is needless to say that we did not like our welcome. On the 23d we marched about eight miles and went into camp at Moscow. We remained there while the pioneers built a bridge over Wolf River. While there some of our men were "bucked and gagged" for killing some goats belonging to a citizen. The time of their sentence had not more than half expired when it became time for "tattoo," and a committee from

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eastern Pennsylvania in 1763. His mother, Margaretta Loughborough, was from New Jersey, and was a descendant of John Loughborough, who came to Perth Amboy, N. J., in 1684, and on her mother's side, from the Morford family. Some of these were in the Revolution on the colonists side, and some were not in the war, but were Loyalists.

His father, Miles Carter, was born in Goshen, Ct.; removed with his parents to Stockbridge, Mass., about 1800, and went to the "Gennessee country" to live at an early day, as did his mother's people about 1806. They were married at Victor, Ontario County, N. Y., May 5, 1822. Later they removed to Friendship, Allegany County, N. Y., and in 1834 they settled in Yorkshire, Cattaraugus County, N. Y., where he died July 17, 1852. Miles Carter was a soldier in the War of 1812. He was the first man to "run a raft" on the Allegany river on Temperance principles, a matter that was considered an impossibility by lumbermen at that time. In June, 1856, Theodore G. Carter settled in Kasota, LeSueur County, Minnesota, in the "Big Woods," and followed surveying as a business. In 1858 he went to St. Peter, Minn., to reside. When the call for 300,000 came in 1862, he became recruiting Second Lieutenant for the Eighth Minnesota Volunteers, later being transferred to the Seventh Minnesota Volunteers in Co. K, in which he served three years as First Lieutenant and Captain. He was in the Indian War of 1862, and served in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Arkansas; was in the Tupelo Campaign in July, 1864; in the battles of Nashville, Dec. 15-16, 1864, and the Siege of Spanish Fort, Mobile.—EDITOR.

the enlisted men waited upon our Colonel and asked him to remit the remainder of the sentence. He readily complied with this request, which was a good thing for him as well as the men, for they would have been released anyway. Bucking and gagging, and tying up by the thumbs were not popular in the volunteer regiments, although practiced by the "regular army" officers. The enlisted men of the volunteers would cut down a "regular" whom they saw strung up by the thumbs, and send word to the officers that no more of that kind of work must be done. While on guard at this camp I had a very pleasant visit with some Confederate officers who came under a flag of truce to see about the exchange of one or more Confederate surgeons.

On Sunday, the 25th of June, we marched to LaGrange, Tenn. The day was very hot and many men were overcome with heat. Having but recently recovered from a severe sickness, I suffered from it, and was unable to keep up with the command. I persevered, but as I entered the village I felt that I was unable to go any farther. Knowing that something must be done without delay, and seeing a group of cavalrymen in front of a large brick building (a female seminary I afterwards learned), I entered the grounds and went directly up to the nearest group, when I recognized an old neighbor whom I had not seen for five or six years, he having removed to Iowa. The recognition was mutual, and I faltered out, "For God's sake, John, get some water and cool the arteries at my temples and wrists, quick," and this he did while I sank to the ground. By sundown I was restored sufficiently to be able to proceed slowly to camp.

We remained at LaGrange awaiting supplies and troops until July 5th, having on the 4th fired our National salute in honor of Independence Day. We were placed in the Third Brigade, First Division, of the right wing of the Sixteenth Army Corps. Our army consisted of about 14,000 men of all arms. On the 5th we began our march, the cavalry in the advance and on the flanks. The infantry had the provision and ammunition trains, and such artillery as did not belong with the cavalry. We marched nine miles and encamped at Davis' Mills. The day was very hot, and as the regiment had been performing garrison duty for about eight months, we were not able to withstand the heat. Many men

were prostrated in the whole command. General Smith issued very stringent orders against plundering and stipulated that foraging must be done under orders and with proper officers to attend to it. Our rations were cut down on the second or third day. On the 7th our regiment was train guard. The heat increased as we advanced. So many men were picked up by the rear guard on that day, that an order was issued that on the next day the officer commanding a company must march in the rear of his company and not allow a man to fall out if it could be prevented, but if it was necessary, he must give each man who fell out a pass. Accordingly that night I wrote passes enough for over half of my company in a memorandum book, so that I could cut between them and leave them attached at the end, tearing one out when necessary. The 8th proved the hottest day experienced so far, and it was difficult to keep the men in the ranks, but by encouraging them, I kept every man in line until about 10 o'clock A. M., when one of them said, "It's of no use to try any more, I simply can't keep up any longer," and as I had a similar feeling, I tore out a pass and gave him. Then they began to fall out rapidly, and when about half of my company was gone, I had to do the same. On the 7th it was reported that our cavalry had had a skirmish with the Confederates.

On the 8th we encamped near Ripley. The heat had been intense, as I said before, and there not being a breath of wind, the dust rose forty or fifty feet and was dense from the ground up. It clung to our faces and clothes and the perspiration turned it into mud. With the same degree of heat we could have marched quite comfortably in Minnesota. The next day we passed through Ripley, and from appearances I feared that some of our stragglers had been committing depredations, although it was done before we came. I saw at the house of a physician a cavalryman, who prevented the entrance of any soldier into the door yard, although there was a good well near the house. His story was that he had been badly wounded on the Sturgis expedition, and had been taken care of by this doctor, who, when he had sufficiently recovered, conveyed him in his buggy a part of the way back to Memphis. As he was with the advance, he had got permission to remain as a safeguard until all of our force had

passed. There may have been other safeguards, but I do not recollect them.

Just after leaving the village there was a white house on the right of the road. A soldier discovered a pig in the road in front of the house, and filling the hollow of a minnie bullet with powder, loaded his gun with it and shot the hog, the gun not making noise enough to attract the attention of an officer, who would arrest him for violating orders. The lady of the house came to the door and told him to take all the pork he wished, as it did not cost anything to raise it. It was fattened on dead Yankees and niggers. This was not quite as "cute" as what was told to some of our Minnesota boys on the Sturgis expedition. They were passing a nice residence around which were a number of cherry trees, loaded with ripe fruit. The temptation was too great for the boys and they did not await an invitation to partake. The lady of the house came to the door and said, "Boys, help yourselves to the cherries; you have more time to pick them now than you will have when you come back." And that was literally true. These men belonged to a regiment which had formed the rear guard of Sturgis' scattered legions, and had repelled Forrest's attacks until there was nothing left to save. When they approached the house where they had eaten the cherries, on their return, they made a wide detour to the rear of the premises and passed out of sight of the occupants of the place.

On this whole expedition I saw but one burning house, and that was so close to the road as to endanger the ammunition train. Whenever there was any burning of houses, I think it was almost invariably done by the advance troops, the cavalry. My diary mentions going where depredations had been committed, and invariably expresses indignation against the perpetrators, but while I regretted and deplored such actions, it was very difficult to prevent them. And all of the officers of my acquaintance felt as I did about the matter. I recollect that one day in passing a house I detected signs of trouble in it, and entering, found that the occupants, two women and some children, had been robbed of all their food. I called in some of my brother officers and we gave them the contents of our haversacks. This was before we reached Ripley. As we returned by a different road, I had no opportunity of learning how they fared.

On the night of the 9th we camped at or near New Albany. I was probably the last man to reach camp, and it was past midnight when I arrived. I shall always remember what I underwent on that day. Had the Confederates had a force in our rear they would have captured many who were unable to keep up, myself among the number. We marched early on the 10th and went into camp about noon. Our camp was on the right of the road in a field which sloped towards the road, and in the rear of the field was a valley in which ran a small stream. Beyond the creek was a timbered bottom. I kept up this day, it being cooler, and the march shorter. Most of us had a good bath and some had just gone into the water, when suddenly the bugle sounded the assembly and we fell into line, and in five minutes were forming in line of battle with our brigade. We then advanced along the road about two miles, and bivouacked in line of battle. I suppose the General knew why this was done, but we certainly did not, having neither seen nor heard anything of the Confederates. Directly in our rear about a hundred yards was a cotton press and gin, the latter of which I had never seen before at close range.

We were not disturbed that night nor the next day, the 11th, but we heard the report of small arms and cannon the next morning. The prospect of a fight braced me up, and whenever there were any such prospects I kept at the head of my company. It was more stimulating than whiskey, which I think in nearly every case does more harm than good. We passed through Pontotoc and went into camp a mile or so below the town on a hillside on the 11th. Here our men and officers also utilized cotton for beds. But I never indulged in the luxury again. It was too heating. Our cavalry had made a demonstration in force toward Okolona, and it was reported that General Forrest had taken a strong position several miles away on the Okolona road and fortified it well, while Smith was making demonstrations toward an attack with the cavalry. But this was only a feint on Smith's part, as his aim was to reach Tupelo and destroy the railroad.

On the morning of the 13th we marched early, retracing our steps until we struck the Tupelo road, when we turned in that

direction. It was well along in the forenoon when we heard the attack upon our rear guard by Forrest's forces. As we had a regiment of negro soldiers, a regiment of cavalry, and a battery for a rear guard, they were enabled to hold the Confederates in check without crowding us any. Knowing that Forrest would try to reach us by the shortest route from the Okolona road, General Mower ordered our regiment and the Twelfth Iowa to form on the right of the train, left in front, and be ready to protect it. We immediately threw out flankers several hundred yards in the woods, a Corporal and four men from each company, to warn us of the approach of any attack on our right flank. The rear guard would make a stand, and after fighting awhile would suddenly make a movement on the double quick to catch up with us, then again make a stand, and kept this up as long as they were attacked. It was not so warm that day, and although the march was longer than any previous one, about twenty miles, we made it with less inconvenience than any since we left Moscow. It was in the afternoon, from 2 to 3 o'clock, when our flankers fired their guns and came running in to the column, and as they reached the road a heavy fire was received from the Confederates, which killed our surgeon and wounded several men, among them being the Corporal in charge of my flankers. We were strung out in single file along the side of the train, and instantly faced to the front and returned the fire. We were opposite a cleared and fenced field which had the dry bed of a small brook running somewhat diagonally through it from east to west, with a fringe of bushes along it. The Confederates advanced to this and poured in a heavy fire upon us. The Twelfth Iowa were in the advance of us, and where they were the forest came up to the road on both sides, there being a thicket of underbrush on the right. When their flankers were driven in, they waited in silence the approach of the Confederates, who advanced to within some twenty or thirty paces of them, when they were met by a volley which surprised them and checked their further advance. After we had fired one or two volleys we were ordered to charge, which we did on the run, driving the attacking force from the bushes along the brook, of which we took possession. We then kept up a fire for twenty or thirty minutes, when the Confederates re-

treated. Of course it would be difficult to shoot at a wagon train without killing or wounding some of the mules. From twenty to thirty were killed or wounded so badly that they had to be killed, and seven or eight army wagons disabled, largely on account of the actions of the teamsters, "levee rats" from St. Louis, who went nearly crazy when the firing began. The loads were transferred to other wagons, and after saving such portions of the wagons as could be used for repairs to other wagons, the remainder were burned.

We then advanced without further interruption until we had passed the White Zion Church, perhaps a mile, when we were ordered to halt, and I was ordered to deploy my company on the right side of the road as skirmishers. This I did, and after waiting a short time was ordered to assemble my men and resume our place in the ranks of the regiment. Then we advanced by the flank down a gentle descent until at the bottom we came to a small tract of timber through which the road led up a slight rise to a cornfield, along the side of which the road turned at a right angle to the left. As we entered the timber General Mower and staff were sitting on their horses close to the road on our right. The woods on both sides were filled with wagons, ambulances, etc.; but the road was clear, not a man or beast in sight on it. We started on the double quick, and just as my company was opposite the General, a solid cannon shot came out of the cornfield ahead of us and passed over our heads. Of course we all bowed to it. General Mower said, "Boys, what do you duck your heads for? Those things never do any harm," but just then came another one at a lower elevation, which did harm. How much I do not know, but I know that we lost one good man here. We could not see anything but smoke, and I think the batterymen could not see us, for they could have "wiped out" our regiment in firing four times could they have seen us. As they were invisible to us, they were enabled to get away unscathed, and, of course, we could not follow them. Directly after this I was ordered to deploy my men on the right as flankers. We marched in single file parallel with the regiment at a distance of 400 to 500 yards from it, and reached Harrisburg just before dark, having heard nothing more of the Confederates. Here we bivouacked

in line of battle, made our coffee and ate our hard tack and laid down to rest behind our stacks of guns.

No reveille was sounded in the morning, but we were up long before light, had our breakfast, and about daylight moved some distance to our right and took position about thirty yards in rear of the Twelfth Iowa, where we lay down awaiting events. The Twelfth Iowa was in our front line, just at the right of the Pontotoc-Tupelo road as we faced the west. As the Twelfth Iowa was about half the size of ours, two of our companies formed on their left, the left one acting as support for a battery of three guns which occupied the road. In front of the Twelfth were the remains of a rail fence, much of which had furnished fuel for the camp fires of at least two regiments, being entirely used up in some places and not so much in others. This was torn down and used to protect the men, but was of little consequence.

The Confederates attacked us about sunrise, and for an hour we lay waiting for the word to advance to the firing line. The worst place for a soldier in battle is where he is liable to receive wounds or be killed, but can do nothing but *think*. Men that will stand that will generally perform their full duty when called upon to face the fire of small arms, shells, grape or cannister. In about an hour the Twelfth were out of ammunition, and we took their place. There were hardly any rails in front of my company, and where there were some, I was fearful that they would be a detriment. In case a cannon ball or shell should strike them, there might be more casualties than would be caused by the missile alone. The smoke was quite dense between us and the Confederates, but we could make out that a large portion of them were in a hollow quite close to us. Consequently Colonel Marshall ordered the officers to watch the men and see that they fired low. We gave the order to the file closers, but did not abate our watchfulness. All of my men but two were lying flat on the ground, lying on their backs to load, then rolling over and firing. At the right of my company were two men who would not lie down, but knelt instead upon one knee. I expostulated with them, but without effect, as they said that they could not see what they were doing when lying down.

After we had been engaged for a short time, as I approached

that flank I noticed a man lying flat on his face without motion of any kind that I could see. He lay by the side of one of the men I just mentioned, and as I could see no sign of a wound, poked him with my foot, but he did not stir. I asked the man next to him if he were dead, and he said that he had not noticed anything wrong with him, and shaking him, he put his mouth near his ear and spoke to him. Looking up at me he said, "Fruits (the recumbent was a German named Fruechte, which our boys called Fruits) claims that he cannot get his gun to go off," and picking up the gun and looking at it, he found that the cap had never been snapped. He told Fruits that his gun was so dirty that he could not use it, and he would use his (Fruits') during the battle, which he did. This was the only case of physical cowardice that I ever saw. The man could not raise his head, to say nothing of shooting. He was entirely helpless. He had been something of a braggart as to his courage, and, of course, the men made life a burthen to him after the battle was over, but I put a stop to it, for I thought he was punished enough for what he could not help. During the engagement a ramrod pierced the biceps of the right arm of one of our men, but remained in the arm. He pulled the ramrod out and it was ludicrous to hear him use strong invectives against the "rebel" who was so careless as to leave his ramrod in his gun after loading.

When our forty rounds of ammunition was exhausted, our Colonel caused boxes of cartridges to be scattered along our rear, and splitting open the boxes with his sabre, he tossed the packages to me and I distributed them to the file closers, who gave them to the men. We fired from sixty to eighty rounds in all. As we had more men in line (about 500) than the Twelfth Iowa, the increase in the firing when we came to the front must have been very perceptible, especially to those Confederates who were in the low ground which we aimed to reach. When we had used up the extra supply of ammunition we retired to our first position and the Twelfth Iowa again went to the front, but only for a short time. I say that *we* retired, but it was not so with my company. We moved to the left to support the battery. About 9 o'clock the Confederate fire having slackened, the order was given to charge, and we advanced perhaps 500 or 600 yards, the

enemy retreating rapidly before us. We halted and remained for an hour or more, but no enemy appearing, we returned to our former position. Then for the first time did our troops throw up temporary breastworks.

It is probable that no command on either side exceeded the bravery of the Confederate forces which attacked us on that 14th of July, 1864, at any time during the war. It may have been equalled at Franklin, but not exceeded. Several charges were made, and in some places they approached to within thirty paces, but no hand-to-hand fighting occurred. The slaughter of their troops was terrible, as appeared when we went over the field in the final charge and after the battle. A person could walk a long distance without touching the ground if he stepped on the dead and wounded.

I came across a finely appearing young man who was mortally wounded, but who had yet a strong voice. He lay with his head propped up by some article, I have forgotten what, and as I stopped and asked him if I could do anything for him, he said he had a great curiosity to know what took place to cause such an increase in our fire after the battle had been on about an hour. He said that he had been in many hard battles, but never saw or experienced such a fire as that before. I told him of our taking the place of the Twelfth Iowa and of our watching the men to make them fire low. He said that must have been the cause, for he was in the low ground. He was white as snow from loss of blood, having received four wounds. He first received a wound through one lung and tried to leave the field, but was hit by a bullet in one thigh. Still trying to get off the field, he received another bullet through the other lung, but was still able to crawl. A bullet through the other thigh caused him to cease his efforts to leave the field. He realized his condition and bravely and cheerfully awaited the end. I did what I could for him, but was obliged to leave him before he was picked up and taken to the hospital. I think that he was a Lieutenant, and his residence was Ripley. Five Confederate regimental commanders lay dead on the field. Our loss was, from appearances, not to exceed one-third of that of the Confederates. Considerable of our loss was in regiments that were not engaged. Our camp was so small

that the bullets that passed over the regiments engaged came down where those guarding the rear and flanks were stationed. No further demonstrations being made by the Confederates, we put out a strong skirmish line and bivouacked for the night. Once during the evening a heavy firing was kept up for a few minutes on our left flank.

The next morning I was ordered to take my company to the front in the open field about opposite the farther edge of the timber on our right front, and deploy as skirmishers, covering the front of our regiment. I was told that I would find a line of skirmishers on each flank with whom I was to co-operate. The morning was intensely hot, not a breath of air stirring. We advanced into the field and I deployed the men and moved them forward to the position pointed out to me. After we had been out an hour or longer, and no line of skirmishers appearing on either flank in our vicinity, a messenger brought me word that the command would begin the homeward march, but that we were to remain and cover the rear of the column. I thought this was rather a fair-sized task for one company, but did not question the order. After a while a regiment or brigade of cavalry came up in our rear in line of battle, but with ranks opened so that as the front rank fired and halted to load, the rear rank passed through the intervals and fired and halted to load. This was kept up until they had advanced a short distance through our line to the front, when they retired. It was a very pretty drill, but of no use otherwise.

A staff officer came out opposite where we stood in the edge of the woods at our right, and beckoned to me to go to the fence. A few sharpshooters had begun to shoot at us from our left front under cover of the woods, and had gradually advanced in the woods on the south side of the Pontotoc road until they enfiladed our position. As we could not see them, I told the men not to return the fire, expecting every moment that they would find our skirmish line in the woods on that side of the road. I had the men keep moving to spoil their aim, and when I went to meet the staff officer, I had them lie down. The staff officer wished to know where the Confederates were. I told him that I did not think there were any great number in our front. While we were

talking, bullets began to spit against the trees around us, and I stepped behind one and told him that if he did not get out of sight he would not sit on his horse long, and he went back to our line. As there seemed to be no skirmish line in front of that part of our line south of the Pontotoc road, and as the heat was so great that it was almost unbearable, I withdrew my men into the shade of the woods on my right, and went back to the regiment to see what the whole fool business meant. I found the regiment lying behind the works constructed the afternoon previous, with fixed bayonets, and keeping down out of sight as much as possible. I asked Colonel Marshall what it meant, and he said it was in accordance with orders, and they were awaiting an assault by the Confederates. I told him that they would wait a good while if they waited for that. I then explained to him the situation in which we were placed, that there was no other skirmish line out, and that a few, apparently ten or twelve, of the enemy's sharpshooters were enabled to pass our flank and take us in the rear, because the line on the south of the road had no skirmish line or pickets in its front, and that the whole performance that afternoon looked as if the commander was "off his base." I told him what he himself knew, that the heat was simply awful, and that we had no protection from the timber as did our main line. He told me to keep out as long as we could stand it and then come in and form behind the right of the regiment, there being no room in the line. I went back and again deployed in the open field, hoping that the line on the south of the road would do something before the sharpshooters ran over them, but while they must have been within 100 yards of each other, not a move was made or shot fired, evidently on account of the orders received from the division commander. I caused my line to fall back to the hollow occupied by the Confederates the previous day, and after a short time took the company around the flank of my regiment and we lay down behind the right company.

The sharpshooters kept up their fire at our line without seeing anything to shoot at, and after awhile an order was given to "charge," and away we all went to the position which we had occupied as a skirmish line, where we were halted, another company deployed as skirmishers in our front, and we received a few

shots from the sharpshooters and a few shots from a cannon. Then four companies of cavalry were brought up, one without sabres, and led by Captain O'Donel, chief of General Mower's staff, charged along the Pontotoc road into the woods and out of sight. We heard a few shots and soon they reappeared, when we all fell back to our former position. I heard that they lost several men. We lost Lieutenant Hardy killed on the skirmish line, where he was exposed to the fire of those sharpshooters, who were entirely hidden by the green leaves and the trunks of the trees, and but a short distance away, while they could plainly see our men. I considered this as very near murder to place men in such a position unnecessarily, and, in fact, the "charge" also came very near it, too, for many men were overcome by the heat, some, as I heard, dying from its effects. It was certainly very hard upon me.<sup>3</sup>

It was several years after the occurrence that I learned the cause of the strange proceeding of that day. My Chaplain told me that he was near General Mower, and that he was so drunk that he could hardly sit on his horse. That he swayed around, brandishing his sabre, and crying out, "Give 'em hell, boys; give 'em hell." Whiskey caused Sturgis to send his troops up in detail for Forrest to whip, like putting sheaves of grain through a threshing machine.

I do not know just when the movement on the return march began, but it was about 3 o'clock P. M. when our regiment moved. We had just arrived at our camping ground at Old Town Creek, when three or four shells came from a hill on our left, which exploded high in the air without doing any damage. Some troops which were just coming in started for the battery and we heard nothing more from the Confederates that day or afterwards. It was time for us to return to Memphis or to some place where we could obtain something to eat, for we were on one-third rations of hard tack and full rations of coffee and sugar. The hard tack was full of worms which the boys shook out before eating by rapping the hard tack against something hard so as to jar it. From this time until we arrived at LaGrange we had a hun-

<sup>3</sup>General Buford, of the Confederates, says that 80 officers and men of his command were prostrated by heat that day, and carried off from the field, many of them unconscious.

gry time, but rations had been sent there in readiness against our return.

I will now discuss some of the reports made by officers on both sides and some of the statements made by men who claimed to have been present.

It is claimed by some of the Confederate Generals that the object of the expedition was to "destroy the rich valleys and prairies with their untold agricultural wealth." The object of it, as stated by General Grant, as also that of the Sturgis expedition and the Slocum expedition from Vicksburg was to keep General Forrest from cutting Sherman's communications. He considered this as being of so much consequence that he said that, although Sturgis was so badly whipped, yet even then it had accomplished the object of the expedition, as Forrest had exhausted his men in whipping Sturgis and following him to Memphis. The Oxford expedition was undoubtedly for the same purpose.

We did not know until afterwards that General Stephen D. Lee was in command of the Confederate forces. I notice that the "Official Records" state that while General Lee outranked General Forrest, yet he did not wish to assume the command, and only yielded to Forrest's urgent request. Yet from the conduct of that portion of the line directly under General Forrest, it would seem that something was wrong, as after Crossland was repulsed, no effort of any account was made to occupy the attention of our line south of the Pontotoc road. Could it be possible that Forrest was sulky because General Lee accepted? Then some of General Forrest's division commanders when conflicting orders came from General Lee and General Forrest, obeyed the order of General Forrest, showing that there was some feeling or prejudice existing. I think that General Buford's idea that the attack should be made against our left, was sound. As to position, I think that the Confederates had advantages which at least balanced ours, which, I think, were not as conspicuous as represented by the Confederate Generals in their reports. I have visited the battle-field within the last five years, and I think that any one who is unprejudiced will say that we had no decided advantage of position. The Confederates had cover in the timber along the most of our line, especially along our left. Those in our front had as

much shelter as we did. They had more fence and considerable timber. We had no protection from their fire except in the places where a little of the fence was left, and the reason that our men escaped with so little loss was because they were lying down and the Confederate fire was too high.

As to the equality of forces engaged, our line, which did the most of the fighting on the north side of the road, including front line and reserve, numbered 750, rank and file. The line along our north flank was but little engaged, and a liberal estimate would make it 1,000 men. Bell's, Mabry's and Rucker's brigades, according to the reports, numbered 3,200 in the aggregate. If one-fourth of these held the horses, it would still leave 2,400 men who were engaged. I take this from *Forrest's Campaigns*, by Jordan and Pryor. We had twenty-four guns, only about six to ten engaged, while the Confederates had twenty guns, all of which were engaged in the battle. Our cavalry were on the east side for the protection of our rear. If either side predominated of those actually engaged, it was on the side of the Confederates. That the brigades of Bell, Mabry and Rucker were exposed to a cross fire from one regiment and three cannon located on the south side of the Pontotoc road is true, but had Roddy supported Crossland in his attack, as was expected, and as good generalship would require, it seems to me, then although the result would undoubtedly have been the same, the losses would at least have been more evenly distributed. I have always thought that as a commander of cavalry, and as a partisan, there was not the equal of Forrest in either army. But I have always wondered why he disposed his forces as he did after the battle commenced.

The total loss of our command on the expedition other than by sunstroke and disease, was 8 officers and 69 men killed, 30 officers and 529 men wounded, and 38 men missing. My regiment had 2 officers and 7 men killed, and 52 men wounded (one died soon after), and 2 men missing. During the three days I had three men seriously wounded and a few slightly touched, but not so disabled as to keep them from performing regular duty. Two of the seriously wounded were shot in the attack on our flank by Chalmer's command (Rucker's Brigade) on the 13th. The loss of the Confederates, according to General Forrest's re-

port, was 210 killed and 1,116 wounded, total 1,326. But as we took some prisoners, the loss must have been greater. I do not know how the Confederates reported the wounded, but on our side, if a man was touched by a bullet or piece of shell, he was reported as wounded, although but one or two out of a dozen went to the hospital or received surgical treatment. As I have before stated, a large portion of our loss was in the regiments which were on our flanks or in our rear, but not engaged. As our men were all lying down, the Confederate fire passed over the lines which were engaged and came to the ground where these other regiments were lying, killing and wounding perhaps more than of those who were on the firing line.

In his report, General Forrest speaks of our wounded being left in bad condition in our hospital when we left on our return march. If that was the case, it must be attributed to the fact that there were more wounded to be attended to than our surgeons could take care of, and no respect was paid to the order in which they were treated, taking them as they came to them, Federal or Confederate, the worst cases first. This can be verified by the Confederates who were left wounded in the hospital. Major Tate, commanding the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry (Confederate), says in his report, "All my wounded who fell into the hands of the enemy were left at Tupelo and had been very kindly treated." We left two surgeons with the wounded, and when they returned to our command they made the statement as I have given it. They said that when the Confederates first came to the hospital they concluded from the fact that nearly every Confederate in the hospital had several wounds, the Yankees must have wantonly shot them after they were found on the field, and that they were therefore going to kill all of the wounded Yankees. But their own wounded men told them that on the contrary they had been kindly cared for.

All of the Confederate Generals speak of our "fortified position," "fortifications," "trenches," "entrenchments," "ditches," etc. Now, as I have before said, we had nothing of the kind. A cavalry regiment on our extreme left upon arriving early on the 13th did throw up a breastwork, but it was never attacked. No orders were issued to entrench, and as the positions on our front

were very few of them occupied until on the morning of the 14th, they would not have made them in the proper place had they worked during the night. On the contrary, the troops were all tired, and all but the pickets slept soundly until aroused in the morning early. The "works" were made after the battle, and in the case of my regiment, they were mostly made on the morning of the 15th.

It was well known in the army that General A. J. Smith was a very poor commander so far as making fortifications was concerned.<sup>4</sup>

A writer in the *Confederate Veteran* for July, 1905, gives a lurid account of his experience with us on this expedition. How he and his command kept us from sleeping nights, obliging us to bivouac in line of battle every night, etc., etc. Then on the night we reached Harrisburg, how he evaded our pickets, crawled over our breastworks, which were about four feet high, and located our forces and our batteries. He says we were formed in a crescent with batteries on both "points" and one in the center. That he made his report to General Forrest. He was in Crossland's brigade, and when his command charged they received the fire of our twenty-four guns. Of course, all of this is a "pipe dream," for he has not a single statement correct. Our line was not in the form of a crescent, and if it was anything like that, the "points" were so far in the rear as to be out of sight. Six guns were all that could be brought to bear upon Crossland's brigade.

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"When we were lying in front of Nashville in December, 1864 General Thomas ordered entrenchments to be made along the whole front of the army. A few days afterwards, one of my men wished to go into the city and applied to me to procure a pass for him. I went to our regimental headquarters and asked for it, and upon receiving it the adjutant said he desired my man to take some papers to General Smith's headquarters, as he had to pass them in going to Nashville. When my man returned he was jubilant over what he saw and heard at General Smith's tent. Just as he was leaving it, General Thomas rode up, accompanied by his staff. General Smith was pacing backwards and forwards outside as the General rode up. General Thomas said, "General Smith, I have just been inspecting your breastworks and find them very poor indeed. In case of attack do you think you can hold them?" "I don't know, I don't know," said General Smith, "if there were no works there I could hold the line, but my men are not accustomed to fighting behind works, and I don't know how they would make out." This story circulated through our brigade and farther, and would have been worth a brigade extra, on account of the confidence the men saw the old man reposed in their valor. It was a characteristic of the man.

The "four feet high breastworks" were not there and neither did the hand-to-hand fighting take place. He lays the failure of Forrest to worry us like they did Sturgis, to General Lee. The fact is, that had Forrest carried out his part of the plan of battle, we would have had more to contend against, with probably more loss, while it is doubtful if the Confederates would have suffered any more. It would have been impossible for us to have been defeated, but we could have been made to suffer a great deal more.

I am puzzled to understand when the village of Harrisburg was burned, as stated by Forrest, Chalmers and others. They say it was on the night of the 14th, but I have no recollection of anything of the kind taking place, either on the night of the 14th or that of the 13th. Neither did I hear any cannonading either night. I have talked with a great many men who were there, and have never found a man who recollects anything of the kind. My memory of those days is very clear. A Confederate friend, Lieutenant McCanless, of Tupelo, tells me that on the evening of the 13th the residence of G. W. Gardner, two negro cabins, a barn and one small storehouse were burned by our troops. This must have occurred before we reached camp, for not one of our regiment has any recollection of it. It certainly was not at the time alleged by General Forrest. Lieutenant McCanless was badly wounded in the battle of the 14th and still suffers a great deal from the wound, which is in his foot. He commanded a company in Buford's attack upon our column on the 13th, and also in the battle of the 14th, where, upon looking over the ground together, we found that we were directly opposite each other. I am very much afraid that it was one of my men who gave him that bad wound, and after making his acquaintance I am more than sorry that it should have happened to him. He says that when the railroad was built and the town of Tupelo started, the most of Harrisburg moved over to the new town. When we were there I saw three or four small log buildings, one being a church. I do not know whether the Gardner home was of logs or a frame building; in fact, I do not know where it stood, for I did not see any signs of the sites of burned buildings.

In all reports of battles by the opposing commanders, it is customary to represent the opposing force as greatly outnumbering

the troops of the commander making the report, and representing that the enemy fought desperately, that the enemy's losses are very much larger than the writer's, and usually claiming the victory, either actual or technical. General Lee, I think it is, who claims the victory in the battle of the 14th, as General Smith did not stay in the country, but returned to Memphis. At my request General Lee kindly sent me his account of this campaign, which I read at the time but have lost or mislaid it, so that I do not clearly recollect his account. Well, it may have been a technical defeat of General Smith, but it was not a defeat of General Smith's forces. I have General Forrest's report, and notice that he claims that we had from 18,000 to 20,000 men, while he gives himself the small number of 5,000. He also estimates Smith's losses as equaling his own. On the other hand, General Smith, while not estimating his opponent's force, estimates his loss at 3,000 as against less than 1,500. In reading the reports of officers on both sides concerning matters of which I was cognizant, the misrepresentations and exaggerations for the sake of giving themselves and their commands undue prominence, have caused me to look upon all written history, so called, as being of very doubtful value. Of course there are noted exceptions."

Our officers in their reports represent severe fighting at Harrisburg on the 15th, and the commander of the dismounted Confederate cavalry which was only one regiment, and which alone confronted us on the Pontotoc road that day, gives a similar report. It was hardly a respectable skirmish. General Smith says that he sent out a brigade of cavalry to get a gun which we disabled on the 14th, and that they brought it in. Only four companies (one with sabres) went out on that "charge," and they did not bring in that cannon. General Forrest says that on the 13th, when he attacked our rear guard, "he found he was driving the enemy too fast," and he was afraid that Chalmers and Buford would not get up in time to attack our flank. I think that I have

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<sup>5</sup>I find that in the two battles before Nashville in December, 1864, our officers claim the capture in the aggregate of 122 cannon. The Ordnance Officer only received for 54. The officers must have carried the rest home for keepsakes. I went over the claims carefully several times, taking the reports of division commanders where given, and where they did not give them, taking the reports of brigade commanders if given, if not, I took the reports of the regimental commanders.

stated that this day, although a longer march than any since we left LaGrange, we made it with less fatigue than any other except the short one on the 10th. General Forrest was deceived by the tactics of the rear guard. They would halt and receive the attack, which they would withstand for awhile, then fall back rapidly until they reached the rear of our column, when they would form an ambush and await another attack. And these ambushes were very effective, as General Forrest was fully aware. Neither General Smith nor Mower seemed to have been aware of what took place on the march that day. Mower gives the credit of the repulse of Chalmer's attack on our flank to other troops, and says that the Fourteenth Wisconsin captured a battle-flag. The Seventh Minnesota and the Twelfth Iowa took the brunt of it, and the Twelfth Iowa killed the color bearer, but left the colors on the ground to be picked up by the Fourteenth Wisconsin. Referring again to the reports of our Generals as to the reputed severe attack on the 15th, they had no cause to believe that there was any considerable force in our front on that day. As I was the farthest in front of any one, and had kept careful watch of what was going on in our front, and had reported to General Mower's staff officer that from all indications there was no force of any consequence on that road, and as the most of the firing of the enemy had been directed upon my company, there was no excuse for the operations of our commander that day before we began our return march, nor for such reports.

In the reports of all of the Confederate commanders, considerable stress is laid on the burning of houses and other depredations committed by our men. Far be it from me to attempt to justify them in such wanton acts, but there was a cause for it which does not seem to be generally known. On the retreat of our demoralized forces on the Sturgis expedition, several of the men were taken and hung by the Confederates and buried with the ropes around their necks. Their graves were found and the situation disclosed soon after the command left LaGrange. I did not see this, but was told of it as soon as the graves were discovered, and I believe the report was true. It created a revengeful feeling throughout the command. It is possible that those men met with their just deserts, but there is no doubt that

their fate greatly influenced the actions of our men. The Confederates did many ill-deeds that brought more or less retribution upon the guilty, and as always happens in such cases, probably more of the innocent suffered than of the guilty. One of my friends who had accepted a subaltern's commission in a negro regiment, after a hard fight in which he was captured, was taken out into the forest away from the road and shot in cold blood. This was not an uncommon way of disposing of prisoners. The guard would shoot the prisoners and report that they attempted to escape. And the officers in command, knowing well what had been done, would receive the report as true, and make no investigation. At the best, war is horrid, but there will always be a large percentage of rogues and ghouls in any army, for war is the opportunity they need for their nefarious deeds. It seems to be considered in these days that if a man was a soldier in the civil war he is fully prepared to go to heaven when he dies. But very few on either side had concealed wings at that time, and I doubt if many have "sprouted" since. Both sides had tough men in their ranks. I have a letter from one Confederate officer to a friend, another officer, in which he says that he had been on a furlough to the place where both lived, and that the people in that vicinity told him that Wheeler had passed through there with his command, and that the soldiers with him were worse than the Yankees in the treatment of the inhabitants. The *Official Records* give many incidents of the kind where complaints were made to the Confederate authorities, and requests made that the troops should be taken away from the vicinity. But I do not believe that such crimes were committed on either side by descendants of those who were patriots in the "days that tried men's souls."

So far as the North was concerned, the men who enlisted in our army in the first two years of the war did so because our flag had been insulted and fired upon, for we were educated to give our paramount allegiance to the United States; State allegiance was a secondary matter. And slavery had but little to do with enlistments. A large portion of our soldiers were Democrats, who would not have stayed a day had it been understood that they were fighting to free the slaves. Of my company, I think that at least one-half were Democrats, and I know how they felt about

the matter. In the South, States Rights prevailed, and allegiance to the United States was a secondary matter. Both sides fought for their principles, conscientiously, and their principles were entirely a matter of location, environment and education. A great deal of misunderstanding and bitterness could be prevented, even in these days, with regard to the war, if people would try to look upon this question from the standpoint of the other side, and be willing to give it credit for acting in accordance with a conscientious sense of duty.

Taking the campaign of Tupelo in all of its bearings, one thing should be borne in mind, and that is, that the Federals were in a climate to which they were not acclimated, many of the troops also had not been in the field for six months, while the Confederates were in their own country, and when they suffered from the heat, as reported by Buford, it was very much worse with us. This very matter must have made 9,000 Confederates equal to double that number of Federals in endurance.



## RECONSTRUCTION IN CARROLL AND MONTGOMERY COUNTIES.

BY FRED M. WITTY.<sup>1</sup>

In 1871, when Alcorn was Governor, the Legislature of Mississippi created the county of Montgomery, taking a section each of Carroll and Choctaw counties to do this. The town of Winona, the county seat of the new county, was, up to this time, a part of Carroll. It was my original purpose to treat of reconstruction in Montgomery County only, but as an important part of the reconstruction period had passed before Montgomery became separated from the Carrollton government, I have decided to treat the subject in both Carroll and Montgomery Counties. I shall endeavor to trace reconstruction government in Carroll County up to 1871, when Montgomery was created, then take up both county governments separately and carry them as far as the overthrow of Republican rule in 1875.

Carroll County is located in almost the exact central part of the State. Originally it was one of the largest counties, but its

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<sup>1</sup>This contribution is the result of seminary work in the Department of History in the University of Mississippi. It was accepted as a graduating thesis in June, 1907.

Fred M. Witty is the son of W. R. and Minnie Holman Witty of Winona. His grandfather, Richard Witty, came from North Carolina in the thirties and settled in Choctaw County near the present town of Lodi. Four of his paternal uncles served in the War of Secession, being promoted to colonels, captains and lieutenants. Among these were Capt. W. H. Witty, who was also a member of the Mississippi Secession Convention.

His maternal great grandfather, David Holman, removed from North Carolina and settled in Alabama in 1820. Ten years later he removed to the now extinct town of Shongalo in Carroll County, Mississippi. David Holman lost two sons in the War of Secession. His oldest son, Dr. J. W. Holman, grandfather of Fred M. Witty, was an eminent physician and had charge of some Southern hospitals during the war. He was a boyhood chum of J. Z. George.

Fred M. Witty was born at Winona, October 19, 1888, and has lived there all his life. He entered the University of Mississippi in 1903 and graduated with the B. A. degree in 1907, ranking third in a class of forty-three. He was a commencement speaker in 1907, and during his course was editor-in-chief of the *University Magazine*, representative to the State Chautauqua Oratorical contest and editor-in-chief of the *University Annual*. In September, 1907, he was appointed private secretary to Congressman W. S. Hill, his cousin, which position he held one year. He returned to the University in 1908 to take up the study of law.—  
EDITOR.

area has been drawn upon several times for the formation of new counties until now it is greatly reduced in size. In 1870 its population was 21,047, of which 11,550 were negroes. By the census of 1900 the blacks outnumbered the whites in about the ratio of four to three, and it is fair to assume that this was approximately the way the numbers of each race ranked just after the war. Men who lived there during reconstruction are unanimous in declaring that the negro majority was a substantial one.

The early settlers came largely from Tennessee and the Carolinas, many families making the journey to Mississippi in covered wagons. The citizenship is perhaps unexcelled by any in the State for genuine bravery and love of white supremacy; the white men of this section have always displayed a passionate interest in and devotion to political affairs. Even to this day everything is thrown aside for politics, and here have been produced some of the most powerful leaders of the white man's party in the State. The most important of these are Senators George and Money, both largely instrumental in banishing the Republican power; and besides these there are a score of others whose names are or were famous over the whole of Mississippi.

The lands are mostly of the hill and hollow type, with occasionally now and then a small swamp. Their fertility has never been very great. Only one railroad ran through the county in 1870, that which is now the Illinois Central; the Southern, which to-day traverses east and west, what was old Carroll County, not having been constructed until later years.

Few sections of the State emerged from the war with greater losses than did Carroll County. Company after company was hurried to the front to return in scattered and wasted numbers. No regular battles were fought upon Carroll County soil, but the guns of Vicksburg could be distinctly heard and the resources of the people were consumed by both armies. Grierson, on his famous raid, traversed the county from end to end, pillaging and burning as he went. Houses were fired, live stock taken, and all provisions destroyed or carried away. Even the crockery and tableware were trampled under foot by Union cavalry, and feather beds were ripped open by the soldiers' swords. What the army left was a prey to the negro stragglers behind.

Such was the gloomy aspect of the land at the close of the war that in several cases the weaker hearted men committed suicide rather than face the awful struggle for life. To make matters worse Union garrisons were at Winona and Vaiden and about these the negroes loafed, scorning to work. They refused to sign labor contracts, firmly believing that lands were to be given them by Lincoln. Men who lived at this time say the Freedmen's Bureau greatly hindered the reorganization of labor.

#### GOVERNMENT.

On January 19, 1865, five men, board of police-elect of Carroll County, met and qualified by taking this oath:

"We solemnly swear that we will support the Constitution of the Confederate States and the Constitution of the State of Mississippi so long as we remain citizens thereof, and that we will faithfully discharge our duty as members of the board of police according to law, so help us God."<sup>2</sup>

All of these were good, honest Democrats.

When Governor Sharkey was appointed by the President he, pursuant to his general policy of reappointing all men who seemed inclined to abide by the results of the war, retained this board in office. It must be remembered that, by the new electorate, no man could vote who had not taken the oath of allegiance to the United States. Many white men could not vote at all on account of the part they had played in the war. However; the right of suffrage had not yet been conferred on the freedmen and was not until 1867.

By the election held in 1865 this board of police was elected, the term being one year: G. A. Graves, W. C. Eskridge, C. J. Coleman, D. W. Henry.<sup>3</sup> They were all good men, either Democrats or old line Whigs. J. C. McKenzie, a Whig and a gallant ex-Confederate soldier, was elected sheriff. W. S. Hemingway, another good man, was clerk. These men went into office January 1, 1866.

In 1867 another board comes in, composed of respectable citizens. The term of office now seems to have become two years in length, and this second board held over, although the Reconstruction Acts had been passed by Congress. Federal troops

<sup>2</sup>"Minutes of the board."

<sup>3</sup>"Minutes of the board."

were soon busy registering the new electorate in which negroes received the right to vote and many white men were disfranchised. In 1868 Governor Humphreys, the Democratic Governor, was ejected from office and General Ames took his place as Provisional Governor of Mississippi. On February 16, 1869, by order of Congress, Ames began his crusade against all officers in the State, removing Democrats and supplying their places with "loyal" men. McKenzie was removed from the sheriffalty and M. H. Tuttle took his place. Tuttle was a Colonel of negro troops from Massachusetts, and had never been in the county before he got his commission from Ames. He was a full Republican, but was a high-toned gentleman. He was a fine business man and left a good official record. He bought property and became identified with the people. Tuttle did not believe in letting the negroes hold office, and, although he had to put some on his ticket in order to win, yet, when possible, he put the native whites on before he would the negroes. Tuttle was absolutely fearless of the Democrats, often going through a crowd of threatening whites to make an arrest. E. Trigg, another carpetbagger, was appointed clerk in Hemingway's place. H. T. Martin, an Englishman and also a carpetbagger, superseded J. C. Harris as circuit clerk. Martin was thoroughly hated by the whites on account of his social equality teachings. He soon went to Leflore County to accept a more lucrative office and invested in property there. He left hastily in 1876. The old board of police held its last meeting in February, 1869, and there are no more accounts of proceedings until May of the same year. We then find a new board of Ames' appointment: Thos. Ely, N. A. Clark, Andrew Hasting, W. Rozier. All these were good native white citizens and Democrats; it was probably Tuttle's influence with Ames which saved Carroll County from a corrupt board at this time.

In 1870 the offices of the county were divided among Democrats, negroes and carpetbaggers. The Constitution had been adopted allowing suffrage to both whites and blacks; civil government had been resumed with State affairs in Republican hands, and in the counties the battle was raging fiercely. The troops were being withdrawn and the white Democrats no longer had to meet the Federal forces in their political campaigns. The

carpetbaggers and scalawags worked night and day, however, to organize the blacks, and the overthrow of Republican rule was a difficult matter. In 1870 we find this board of police: W. C. Eskridge, President; Henry Money, J. W. Mallory, T. J. Johnson. All but Money were respected Democratic citizens. Their election, it is said, was due to the intimidation of negroes by the whites. Money was a negro. Tuttle was re-elected sheriff, but J. P. Marshall, a native white of integrity, became chancery clerk. The probate judge was a scalawag of strong character. He was highly educated and played a prominent part in those days, first in Carroll and later in the new county of Montgomery, where he became President of the board of supervisors and superintendent of education; for the latter position he was well fitted. After the reconstruction period he took no part in politics and held aloof from the Democrats. His ability was never questioned even by his foes.

In 1871 the new county of Montgomery was formed in spite of the determined opposition of the remaining part of Carroll. *The Mississippi Conservative*, published in Carrollton at this time, says that the people were charged with raising \$3,500.00 to bribe the Legislature into creating the new county. The Winona and Carrollton papers carried on a fiery controversy over the affair. The opponents of the new county measure argued that the division was unnecessary and that taxes would be increased because it would require double the number of county officers. However, the new county was formed, and from this time on we trace the governments of Carroll and Montgomery separately.

Carroll County continued to be a hard fought political battle ground. In 1874 the board of supervisors was composed of H. S. Hill, W. C. Chatham, T. O. Smith, Henry Norwood, Jas. Goodwin. The first three were white Democrats. The last two were negroes.

In the election of 1875, the great white "revolution" came, of which I shall have more to say later on. The whites were entirely victorious. A solid Democratic board of supervisors was elected. W. F. Hamilton,<sup>4</sup> a lifelong Democrat and one of the

<sup>4</sup>Mr. Hamilton graduated from the University of Mississippi in 1857 and, returning home, has ever since taken an active part in the affairs of his county. He was the Democratic candidate for sheriff in 1875, and being elected, continued to serve until 1884.

leading men of the county, became sheriff, and J. P. Marshall succeeded himself as chancery clerk. Since November 3, 1875, the Democracy has been supreme in Carroll County. One of the first acts of the new administration of 1876 was the rebuilding of the courthouse, the old one having been destroyed by fire in 1875.

The finances of the county were in a miserable state throughout the reconstruction period. County paper was worth only about forty or fifty cents on the dollar. The State and county taxes combined were three and one-fourth per cent.<sup>5</sup> An enormous amount of property was forfeited for taxes. The reason for this high tax, however, lay largely in the condition the war left the county. Everywhere repair had to be done. One is struck by the great number of bridges which were built at this time. I am told that there was scarcely a bridge of any size left standing in the whole county at the end of the war.

There were no fraudulent contracts let by officials in this county. Even had the board wished to make any corrupt bargains, the clerk, J. P. Marshall, was always on hand to expose them, and men like J. Z. George, a resident of Carrollton, were constantly on the lookout for corruption.

Montgomery County's first board of supervisors met June 26, 1871, being present W. B. Peery, President; Eli T. Cartledge, Thos. C. Curry, Jas. Thomas. They were appointed by Governor Alcorn and were either former Whigs or Democratic citizens. Peery made a brilliant record as major in the Confederate army, and was as true a citizen as ever lived. Two others on the board were Confederate soldiers, and the whole board was a faithful and representative one. John C. McKenzie, the gallant old Whig who was discharged in Carroll County by Ames in 1869, became sheriff. H. H. Harris, a Democrat, was circuit clerk.<sup>6</sup> Thos. J. Blackmore, a scalawag, was chancery clerk.

The board appointed a number of school commissioners and road overseers, all of whom were respected citizens. Much attention was given to road improvement and the building of bridges. The county had a common school fund and this was

<sup>5</sup> W. F. Hamilton.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Harris is to-day one of Winona's most prominent citizens.

used and controlled by the board of supervisors. Thos. B. Brown was appointed assessor, then a lucrative office; he was ordered by the board to assess all real and personal property in the county by September 1st. F. M. Shryock, the treasurer, was forced to give bond for \$10,000 as treasurer of the county and \$5,000 as treasurer of the school fund. Shryock came from Missouri, but was no carpetbagger; in fact, he bore an active part with the Democrats all the way through reconstruction.<sup>7</sup> The members of the board voted themselves pay at about \$6.00 per diem and mileage. They ordered that ground be selected for a poorhouse, and meantime provided for the keeping of paupers at county expense.

This corps of officers, so highly respected by the whites, did not suit the scalawags and negroes of the county at all; it was soon removed by the Governor, and on September 4, 1871, the following board met, having been appointed by Gov. Alcorn: Walter Gould, President; R. B. Keeth, R. A. Pool, John Curtis and E. Wilkinson. The first three of these were scalawags. Curtis was a burly negro and a great leader among the blacks. W. H. Parker was appointed sheriff in McKenzie's place. Parker was a clever, handsome carpetbagger, and worked hard to build up his party. Besides being sheriff he also held the office of Federal collector of revenue and county superintendent of education at the same time. These offices combined paid him about \$12,000 per year.

This board showed its hostility to its predecessor by changing the location of the polling places. The old board of school directors was also removed and a curious mixture of scalawags, Democrats and negroes took its place. Taxes at this time were as follows: Ten mills on the dollar for county purposes; ten for the common school fund, and ten for the builders' fund. This added to the State tax of ten mills, made a tax of four per cent. Besides this there was a tax of 2.5 mills for "privileges and professions."<sup>8</sup> This was an overburdening tax, but probably, as

<sup>7</sup>Mr. Shryock came to Winona before the war. He brought money with him, and was one of the well-to-do citizens of the town. His associates were Democrats and his sympathies were wholly with the whites. After the reconstruction period he failed in business, became a hopeless drunkard and finally was found dead in the Presbyterian church, where he had evidently slept the night before. To the last he had the sympathy of the people of Winona.

<sup>8</sup>"Minutes of the board."

in Carroll County, it resulted from the terrible devastation of war rather than from any official corruption. Citizens of that period say that no great frauds or grafts were perpetrated, but that in small ways the Republicans used the county's means to build up their party.<sup>10</sup> On November 7, 1871, at a general election, the Republican board of supervisors was defeated and a solid Democratic board took its place. A Democrat also became chancery clerk. From this time on Montgomery County elected nothing but Democrats to the board of supervisors, and when the time came round to elect a sheriff<sup>11</sup> and a circuit clerk,<sup>12</sup> the whites won again. But it was never without a struggle. It must be remembered that the Democrats had never secured control of the State government and the Legislature and nearly all of the Congressmen and all the Senators had been Republicans. So, when the election approached in 1875, the whites all over the State determined to throw all their power into one supreme effort to oust negro supremacy forever. How well they accomplished this is the pride of all Mississippians.

#### POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS.

When, in 1867, suffrage was conferred upon the freedmen, the whites of Carroll County found themselves confronted by a substantial majority of registered negro voters. The campaign programme of both parties therefore became clearly defined. The sole aim of the Republicans was to hold the negro vote on their side and to see that the blacks were not prevented from voting. The only hope of the whites was either to bring over to the Democracy enough negroes to secure the balance of power or else to prevent enough of them from voting. The native white sentiment was practically a unit. Regardless of former political differences, the whites, Democrats and Whigs, put aside party hatreds in face of the "Black Peril" and entered the struggle completely united.

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<sup>10</sup>Dr. B. F. Ward.

<sup>11</sup>Reuben Hitt, brother of R. H. Hitt, one of Winona's best business men and citizens.

<sup>12</sup>C. H. Campbell, of Winona. Mr. Campbell was a gallant Confederate soldier; he still resides in Winona.

At this period Mississippi citizenship was fired by a spirit of patriotism, often idealized, but rarely seen in reality, and it was the every day order of things for leaders of the Democracy to plunge into the political battle, with no thought of personal profit or glory, urged on by the love of race and country alone. Dr. B. F. Ward, of Winona, was a central figure in the affairs of his county, and it is of peculiar interest to Mississippians of to-day that this man, who has never afforded an opportunity for even his foes to doubt the sincerity of his purpose, who has never sought or received an office, should have been a leader at a time when Democratic citizenship reached its high water mark. Dr. Ward was called upon on numerous occasions to defend the Democracy against Republican speakers who came to Winona. The majority of the audience were usually negroes, but the whites available turned out in order to make as strong a demonstration as possible. When H. D. Money was the Democratic candidate for Congress against Powers and Little, Dr. Ward met Powers in debate at Winona. At other times he was pitted against Judge Peter B. Bailey, General Barry and Captain Pease.

Hardly had the negroes been registered as voters, before the Republicans in Carroll County, both scalawags and carpetbaggers set to work to strengthen the negroes' ambition and to array them securely against the white people. Republican speakers addressed negro meetings in secret places and worked diligently to organize them into Loyal Leagues for the approaching struggle. These meetings often lasted all night and were a subject of great vexation to the Democrats, who sought in vain to locate them. At this time the negroes were thoroughly in awe of the whites, and it was one of the main purposes of the Republican leaders to instill into them a spirit which should defy their old masters. It is said that at this time one white man could put twenty negroes to flight, hence the secret meetings of the blacks. The Democrats often rode all night hunting for these gatherings. They were rarely located, however, and no good ever came of the efforts of the whites. One man told me that they sometimes found the meetings, but the negroes would be warned in time by pickets which they had stationed and would be having an animated religious service by the time the whites came up.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> W. F. Hamilton.

At this period the Republican leaders would make the negroes come to the polls in great companies so that they might not be interfered with in their voting. An eye witness<sup>14</sup> in Carroll County says that in the elections of 1871 and 1873 the blacks marched up in immense columns and kept many white men out.

The Republicans readily made all sorts of promises to the negroes in return for their votes. The negroes put aside all things for politics and flocked to town on every political occasion. Alcorn spoke in Winona in 1869, when he and Judge Dent were candidates for Governor. An immense crowd of negroes thronged the town. Alcorn spoke from the depot platform and the whole street was filled by the shouting blacks. Several of the more desperate whites determined to kill Alcorn with Winchesters, but they were prevented by conservative Democrats.

The main slogan which the Republicans used to catch the negro vote was the argument that the Democrats wished to put them back into slavery. John Curtis was a burly negro who was a great leader among the members of his race in Montgomery County. He warned them with a stentorian voice to vote with the Republicans. "They are your friends," he said. "Vote the Democratic ticket and in six months you'll be back under the bull whip." One day when Curtis was in Winona the whites suddenly set upon him with brickbats and he beat a hasty retreat, leaving his mule hitched to a post in the town.

A carpetbagger named Weeks, who was postmaster at Winona, became extremely odious to the whites. At one time a white man walking into the postoffice saw a burly negro struggling with another white citizen. He immediately seized a chair and knocked the negro senseless. Weeks was not attempting in the least to interfere in the unequal fight and afterwards attempted to take the part of the negro. Trouble was narrowly averted. Another Republican postmaster at Winona, one Manker, was convicted of official corruption and sent to a Federal penitentiary.<sup>15</sup>

In the early seventies the whites had to work hard to break up the negro majority. The negroes turned a deaf ear to Democratic persuasion. But there were always in both Mont-

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<sup>14</sup> W. F. Hamilton.

<sup>15</sup> Dr. B. F. Ward.

gomery and Carroll counties scores of fearless men who dared anything. It was largely the intimidation of the negroes by these men which brought what success the white party gained in county affairs during those years. One night there was a big negro mass meeting in Winona. When it was over a small crowd of young whites waited at the door and set onto the outpouring crowd with stout sticks. All the negroes ran. Men who lived at that time are unanimous in declaring that such means contributed much to the partial success of the Democracy. Prior to 1875 the Democrats in Carroll County for political purposes sometimes put a negro's name on their ticket. Another method used by the Democrats to carry the election was to bribe the Republican election officers.<sup>17</sup> On one occasion, at least, in Montgomery County the ballot box was stuffed. At this time the election officers were Democrats and they prepared a large number of Democratic ballots. The man who received ballots from the voters had near him a box of these false votes. As the negroes handed him their ballots he immediately exchanged them for those already made out and dropped these into the box. When the count was taken not a Republican vote had been cast, although one citizen estimates that about two thousand "*non-Democratic* negroes" had voted that day.<sup>18</sup>

Ames spoke at Winona in 1873 when he was candidate for Governor against Alcorn. Alcorn was not present, but an adherent of his, Musgrove, ex-State Auditor, took his part. It was truly an interesting affair. The Democrats had no ticket that year and turned out in full force, curious to see "thief meet thief," as one old fellow expressed it. Musgrove denounced Ames as corrupt and Ames came back with a scathing Philippic against the Alcorn administration, ironically referring to Musgrove as "Honest Mus."<sup>19</sup> It was a miserable choice the Democrats had to make. Ames came off victor in this, his first debate, as he himself said at the time.

The officers to be chosen at the general election in 1875 were State Treasurer, members of Congress, members of the Legis-

<sup>17</sup>C. H. Campbell.

<sup>18</sup>W. R. Witty, of Winona.

<sup>19</sup>W. A. Holman.

lature and all county and local officers. Heretofore the Democrats had done all they could to persuade the negroes to vote with them. The argument used was that the South was the common home of the whites and blacks, and that the Republicans were ruining the land since they had no interest in it except to plunder. This argument had been futile and in 1875 the white people of Carroll and Montgomery counties prepared with confidence to win the supremacy forever. This year their ticket was not compromised by a single negro name. Democratic clubs were formed with large memberships. At the meetings of these, gray-haired men stood beside mere boys and the watchword was "Carry the election; honestly if you can, if not—*carry the election!*" A few negroes boldly put on the "red shirt," but the great majority held aloof. A Democrat<sup>20</sup> who ran for sheriff of Carroll County at that time says that he often visited negro meetings in his canvass. They listened respectfully to his speech, but it had no effect. One man says that a Democrat was appealing to a crowd of negroes to vote with the whites; one old darky pulled a big nail from his pocket and said to his comrades, "When I can bite this in two then I'll vote with them."<sup>21</sup>

Never was any community better organized politically than were Carroll and Montgomery counties in 1875 and also in 1876. "Our organization was perfect," says a member of one of the Democratic clubs. Prominent orators from all over the State addressed the shouting Democrats in mass meeting. J. Z. George, E. C. Walthall, H. D. Money, H. R. McInnis, Chas. E. Hooker and many others came to Winona. The clubs had weekly meetings all during the campaign, and just before the election they met every night. No Democrat went out unarmed. The clubs often assembled in churches when the large crowds made it necessary. The Democratic nominee for Congress was H. D. Money, then editor of a paper in Winona. At the time of his nomination his chances for election were regarded as slim indeed. But there was a split in the Republican ranks and two Republican candidates were put forth, Little and ex-Lieut.-Gov. Ridgley C. Powers, and Money was elected. During the

<sup>20</sup>W. F. Hamilton.

<sup>21</sup>W. R. Witty.

course of the campaign Powers spoke at Winona and was opposed by Dr. B. F. Ward in behalf of the Democracy.

In Winona immense torchlight processions were of frequent occurrence. The Democrats and the few faithful negroes wore red shirts and were usually mounted. Some of the crowd were selected as torch bearers, the numbers varying from twelve to fifty. Women and children joined in the parade on foot. Everybody was shouting and catchy political phrases were used. A prominent feature was what were known as "transparencies." The Democrats would build a frame on a wagon bed and stretch white bleached domestic upon it much in the manner of a covered wagon. On this canvas various rude cartoons were painted and inside the wagon, lights were fixed so as to make the paintings noticeable at night. On these "transparencies" were caricatured the local Republicans and scalawags, as well as triumphant representations of the Democratic leaders. The Democrats spent a great deal of money on these "transparencies." They were, as was the rest of the torchlight procession, intended to attract or awe the negroes. After the procession leading white men would speak and attempt to make converts. In Winona the Democrats had an old cannon which they got from Water Valley and fired during the campaign in order to intimidate the blacks. The night before the election it was fired off for the last time, as it burst into pieces, one large fragment landing in an alley down town and another being found under a cherry tree three hundred yards away.

The Democrats let everything go for politics. Business was paralyzed. Midnight meetings were held, and so often did the clubs meet that one man,<sup>22</sup> who lived in Winona, says that he had one horse engaged regularly at the livery stable until the end of the campaign. He says that during the autumn of 1875 he never knew what it was to get a full night's rest.

On October 29, 1875, there was a big torchlight procession at Carrollton. The whites of Carrollton got the Winona club over to help them. After the parade and the usual speaking the courthouse was discovered in flames. It is said that the Republican postmaster set fire to it in order to charge it to the Democrats. In fact, he was discovered running from the burn-

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<sup>22</sup> W. R. Witty.

ing building, was chased and, in getting over a fence, broke his leg. He died a few days later from the injury.<sup>23</sup>

The Winona club also went to Grenada once and were likewise aided in a procession by men from Lodi and other towns.<sup>24</sup> The whites of Carrollton helped neighboring towns on several occasions, going to Leflore County alone three times.<sup>25</sup>

The white Republicans fought hard, but before election day came round they seemed to realize that the Democracy would triumph. Many negroes flocked to the Democrats and others were afraid to come to town to vote on election day. The "Red Shirts" arrived on the scene early and got control of the polls. When a negro would come up to vote a white man stepped forward a few feet to argue with him. The crowd was signaled what his reply was. If he refused to vote the Democratic ticket the man who was talking to him suddenly said to the one next behind, "Don't you push me." At this he was roughly shoved against the negro. The whole crowd joined in and with this shoving and sometimes a few kicks the obstinate blacks usually lost all desire to vote. They went off and sulked and finally left town with their ballots uncast. Several scalawags suffered a similar fate.<sup>26</sup>

At Vaiden, in Carroll County, the negroes got possession of the polls and it seemed for a while that they would win the day, but a band of daring young white men walked upon the shoulders of the crowded blacks until they reached the polls, took possession of them and turned the tide.

It is useless to say that in both counties the Democrats returned overwhelming majorities.

During the Presidential campaign of 1876 the Democrats of Carroll and Montgomery counties had to make another fight to carry the election for Tilden against Hayes. Red shirts and torchlight processions were used again as well as transparencies. In Winona one of these transparencies was mounted on a cart and drawn by two young steers. It was prepared by T. B. Brown of Winona, now residing in Memphis; Brown rode one

<sup>23</sup>T. H. Somerville, of Oxford, Miss. Mr. Somerville was a citizen of Carrollton at this time and bore an active part in the white ranks.

<sup>24</sup>W. R. Witty.

<sup>25</sup>W. F. Hamilton.

<sup>26</sup>W. A. Holman.

of the steers and drove the other, singing thus to the tune of "Old Black Joe."

"Tilden's coming, Hendrick's coming,  
To strike the fatal blow;  
And now I hear the people calling:  
'Go, Hayes, go!'"

Again in 1876 the Democrats in these counties won. The Republicans have never since made so strong a stand.

#### KU KLUX.

The results of the war had instilled into the old white men a feeling of dread for conflict. They were sick of the struggle and felt inclined to restrain, for the sake of peace, anything that seemed radical. Even with the freedmen, who thronged the country, insolent and criminal, they hoped to deal without force. But the young men of this time seemed to be goaded into desperate daring by the struggle they saw before them. The Federal garrison at Winona sent squads all over Carroll and Montgomery counties to protect the freedmen's rights and the blacks, feeling securely shielded by Northern bayonets, persistently refused to work and held the whole land in terror. It was at this time, right after the war, that bands of young white men began to solve the problem after their own ideas. They seem to have been awed not one iota by the presence of the Federal troops.

Heggie's Scouts, named after its leader,<sup>27</sup> had a membership of about one hundred. It was organized by General Forrest, so I am told, by one of the Scouts himself.<sup>28</sup> No man was enlisted whose fibre was not known to be true, and when once a man enrolled he must do his duty or die. Heggie's Scouts were organized in Holmes County right after the surrender, but they operated in both Carroll and Montgomery, where some of the Scouts lived. There were several captains and the force often divided into many companies of six or eight men, which these captains commanded. These men did not disguise themselves,

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<sup>27</sup>Major Heggie, of Vaiden.

<sup>28</sup>Captain \_\_\_\_\_, of Winona, who requests that his name be withheld for fear that the Ku Klux disturbances may yet be the subject of Federal investigation.

operated in open daylight, and their object was to make the negroes humble by visiting terrible punishment upon them. Carpetbaggers and scalawags were also proscribed.

A captain of the "Scouts" says that once their whole force went to help put down a negro uprising in the delta. They came upon a large body of armed negroes assembled in a cotton field. Heggie ordered a charge. The negroes broke and ran. Captain \_\_\_\_\_ says that 116 negroes were killed in this fight and thrown into the Tallahatchie River. Not a white man was hurt.<sup>29</sup> After this the "Scouts" participated in a few small riots, but they usually arrived on the scene before the blacks organized and quickly dispersed them. They often whipped negroes who refused to work.

Many of the "Scouts" were remarkably young. Captain \_\_\_\_\_ himself was but sixteen at this time. All were good shots, however, as the awful slaughter above mentioned will show. Captain \_\_\_\_\_ says that on one occasion he and a single comrade were crossing a bridge when three armed negroes suddenly sprang up at the other end and ordered them to halt. His companion shot instantly, with buckshot, luckily killing two of the negroes. Captain \_\_\_\_\_ killed the other with his pistol. He says that sometimes when the blacks were especially troublesome the "Scouts" had orders to kill every one they met.

But the Federal authorities were hot on their track and in 1866 forty-eight of the "Scouts" were arrested and sent to Oxford for trial before the Federal Court. George and Walthall went up and defended them free of charge. It is said that the Judge could not help sympathizing with the prisoners and they were soon released.<sup>30</sup> However, the "Scouts" did not operate afterwards. Civil government was becoming secure and the great majority of them settled down into good law-abiding citizens.

I am told that the Ku Klux proper was not organized in Carroll

<sup>29</sup>The same "scout" is authority for this. His testimony is thoroughly reliable and is substantiated by the statements of several other men who remember the operations of Heggie's Scouts.

<sup>30</sup>This was Judge R. A. Hill. It is said that Judge Hill fined the suspected Ku Klux one dollar each. The sheriff asked if he must collect this. "Not on your life," was the reply.

County.<sup>31</sup> However, bands of young white men were active all over the county in regulating the negroes. As a rule these white men were property owners and good citizens. They made wandering negroes give permits from their employers' and rode at night visiting unruly blacks. Some kind of force was necessary to the white men at this time when, as was the case in Carrollton, men approached the polls only between two negro soldiers who crossed bayonets above the door. Besides, the whites must make the freedmen work, since they were in the land, and this could be done by intimidation only.

In Montgomery County a well organized Ku Klux existed. The Winona "Den" was organized in the cellar of what is now Kelly's drug store. The head of each "Den" in the county was a Grand Cyclops. The "Den" at Lodi was commanded by an ex-Confederate soldier and was organized in 1866. It was out of use by the end of 1868. It met in the Masonic Hall once a week and was subject to a call meeting at any time. The time of meeting was usually 10 P. M. A door rap and a complex password were used and entrance could not possibly have been gained by a stranger. It was the duty of every member to report any misdemeanor of negroes, and a special meeting was called if the matter was urgent. Once a negro was accused of being impudent to the widow of a Confederate soldier. The Cyclops detailed a detachment to punish him. Every man among them was armed, but orders were issued not to shoot except in case of serious attack. When the negro's house was reached the Ku Klux surrounded it. The negro attempted to run, but was chased and caught. Meanwhile no one had spoken. He was given one hundred lashes and then the white leader spoke in solemn accents, "If we hear of you any more we will come again." Without another word all rode off.

The Ku Klux "rode" frequently, warning negroes and handling many trivial matters. They seemed to have no fear whatever of Federal troops, although several arrests were made. In Carroll County a white man named Joe Tribble was arrested for killing a negro and carried to Vicksburg. Later he was carried to Coffeeville for trial. Walthall defended him on condition that the Ku Klux would fill the court room in order that the jury might be picked from them. Tribble was released.

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<sup>31</sup> W. F. Hamilton.

Geo. Ferguson, another white man in Carroll County, was also tried before the Circuit Court for killing a negro, and it was attempted to prove that he was a Ku Klux. He was acquitted.

In Winona, Geo. Wilson, a brave Confederate sergeant with a brilliant soldier's record, was arrested and carried to Vicksburg by Federal troops. There was no proof against him, however, and he was released.

#### RIOTS.

In Montgomery and especially in Carroll County, there has always been a large number of troublesome negroes. An old citizen said to me, "Time and again we in Carroll County were warned that the negroes were organizing."<sup>32</sup> Usually nothing whatever came of these reports. In Montgomery County the whites were constantly expecting a race war. At one time news came to Winona that the negroes were planning to destroy the little country town of Mayfield, about twenty miles east of Winona. A posse went out from Winona, fifty strong, in order to aid the whites. The negroes never put in their appearance. In Carroll County the whites expected the negroes to rise about Christmas time, 1865, since the blacks expected the lands to be given them at that time by the Republicans. White men armed themselves and patrolled the roads disarming every negro they met.

What threatened to be a serious riot occurred in Winona during the winter of 1870. A white man named Bates discovered that the negroes were drilling in a stretch of woods just outside the town to the east. One night a party of whites lay in wait for them and caught them in the act. Six or eight were captured, one of whom was the burly leader, John Vaughan; the rest escaped. The prisoners were lodged in the Winona caliboose, where they sang songs all night long, probably to attract the other negroes' attention. The whites expected a general outbreak and prepared for it. The next night every road to town was picketed with armed white men and all were to hurry to the point first attacked. One party guarding a

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<sup>32</sup>Dr. Samuel Hart, of Carrollton, now chancery clerk of Carroll County, and a participant in reconstruction affairs.

road from the north were stationed on the railroad overlooking the road. They saw a crowd of negroes approaching and ordered them to halt. The blacks did not obey and the white men opened fire. At the first volley the negroes fled and it is not known that any were killed. It was said, however, that several white men rode towards the scene about daybreak the next morning with spades on their shoulders, and many Winonians believe that negroes were buried in the old ditch near where the firing occurred.

After the war a large number of troublesome negroes had gathered at the old town of Shongalo,<sup>33</sup> near Vaiden, in Carroll County. They lived in a number of old buildings, refused to work and caused the white people much trouble. One night a band of young white men burned the buildings and dispersed the negroes, one being killed. Federal officers from Vicksburg came up to investigate the affair, but there was no proof and consequently no arrests. The negroes were scattered and soon returned to work.

#### THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

The Freedmen's Bureau Agency at Winona operated over Carroll and Montgomery counties, and the agent was a Republican named Parker. Democratic political speeches in both these counties in later years denounce bitterly this agency. White men complained that the Freedmen's agent was prejudicing the blacks against the white people by saying the whites were robbing them. The agency annoyed the planters very much by interfering in many trivial affairs.

The agent at Winona sent all about the county protecting, as he said, the negroes from white men who sought to take advantage of them. On one occasion a negro was shot four miles from Carrollton. He crawled to Winona and reported to the agency, charging the crime to two respected white men named Ramsey Heggie and — Jones. The negro was sent

<sup>33</sup>The town of Shongalo is now extinct, its decay resulting from the superior advantages of the neighboring town of Vaiden, which is located on the railroad, and which soon sapped the life of Shongalo. For a sketch of the town of Shongalo, see Dr. Franklin L. Riley's "Extinct Towns of Mississippi" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. V.

to Canton for safe keeping and the white men were tried by the Bureau Agent for Ku Klux. Heggie proved an alibi, showing that he lived nineteen miles from the scene of the crime and was at home at daylight, while the shooting occurred at 4 A. M. Both prisoners were discharged for want of proof. A witness in the case says the agent told them he believed them guilty, but could not hold them.

The white people no longer had the carpetbaggers to deal with after 1876, but the scalawags were still in the land. They were few in numbers, but did all they could to reorganize the negroes and retrieve their broken party in Carroll and Montgomery counties. They continued to put out tickets, and though never successful, caused the whites some trouble. When Chisholm, of Kemper County, afterwards the central figure in the so-called "Chisholm Massacre," was a candidate against H. D. Money for Congress, he was met in debate by Dr. B. F. Ward at Winona before a large crowd of negroes and a minority of whites. The whites were very bitter and often interrupted Chisholm, Dr. Ward being compelled to plead with them to hear him. Many whites came to the speaking ready to shoot Chisholm on the slightest provocation. The negro leader, John Curtis, became conspicuous for his insolence and was visited that night by a small band, found hiding in his attic and given a sound lashing.<sup>34</sup> An outgrowth of this post-reconstruction fight was what is known as the Carrollton massacre in after years, in which twenty-one negroes were killed outright. The final crown was given to white supremacy in 1890, when a son of Carroll County, J. Z. George, led the Democrats of Mississippi in the formation of a Constitution disfranchising the negro in the State indefinitely, at least: forever, we hope.

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<sup>34</sup>Dr. B. F. Ward.

## RECONSTRUCTION IN LEE COUNTY.

By W. H. BRADEN.<sup>1</sup>

Lee County was established by an act of the Legislature, October 26, 1866. It was named after one of the world's greatest heroes, Gen. Robert E. Lee. The county was carved out of Pontotoc and Itawamba counties. Its population during the reconstruction period was 14,000, since which time it has steadily grown, the 23,000 mark having been reached in 1900.<sup>2</sup> Although this is one of the smallest, it is one of the most prosperous of the hill counties of Mississippi. The soil is very fertile, especially in the western and southern portions.

Two railroads run through the county, the Mobile and Ohio and the Kansas City, Memphis and Birmingham; and on these roads are several thriving towns, Verona, Shanon, Plantersville, Sherman, Belden, Saltillo, Baldwyn, Guntown and Tupelo. The last named town, situated at the crossing of the two roads mentioned above, is the county site.

The county was originally in the possession of the Chickasaw Indians, and it was not until the latter part of the thirties, after a treaty had been made with this tribe, that white people began to settle within its borders. These first settlers were men of the highest type; many were veterans of the war of 1812 and of the Creek and Seminole wars, who had been granted land warrants calling for land in the county.<sup>3</sup> Among these early

<sup>1</sup>Mr. W. H. Braden was born in Lee County, Miss., in 1884. After completing a preparatory course at Poplarville, Miss., he entered the University of Mississippi, from which institution he graduated with the B. S. degree in 1907. During the following session he was instructor in History in South Mississippi College, Hattiesburg, Miss. In 1908 he voluntarily resigned this position to enter the law department in the University of his State.

Mr. Braden is of Irish descent. His paternal ancestor settled in Virginia in colonial times. Mr. Braden's great-grandfather was born in Tennessee and removed in early life to Alabama. He was married to a Miss Caldwell of North Carolina, first cousin of John C. Calhoun. In 1850 Mr. Braden's grandfather settled in Lee County, Miss. S. Scott, a maternal ancestor of the author of this contribution, came from Ireland to South Carolina in 1750. He served in the patriot army in the Revolutionary war. His son was born in Newberry, S. C., from which place he removed to Mississippi, settling in Lee County. At the outbreak of the War of Secession he enlisted in the Confederate Army.—EDITOR

<sup>2</sup>Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, Vol. I, pp. 261-262, for population. The negro population in 1870 was 4,750; in 1890, 6,567.

<sup>3</sup>Capt. F. Kohlein, of Guntown, Miss.

settlers were found men who, together with their sons, played no little part in restoring order at the close of the War of Secession, after having won honors on the field of battle. The families deserving special mention are the Tisons, Allens, Robbins, Blairs and Claytons.

The county was left in a very destitute condition after the war. Two of the hardest battles in the State, Harrisburg and Brice's Crossroads, had been fought within its borders.<sup>4</sup> As a result of these battles the citizens had been robbed of their work stock, fences had been torn away, and provisions had been taken from them by the armies.

By the year 1867, 18,799 acres of land had been forfeited or taxes.<sup>5</sup> Nothing of value had been left these people with which to begin to restore their broken fortunes. All of this loss, added to that sustained by the freeing of the slaves, left the people in a deplorable condition. There was a peculiar sting to all these sudden changes of conditions that cannot be adequately expressed to the younger generation.

Fortunately for the county, no carpetbagger ever made his home within its borders. The government was therefore left in the hands of its own citizens.<sup>6</sup>

#### GOVERNMENT.

The board of police of the county at the beginning of the period was composed of the following men: S. Temple, Willis Hester, Josiah Lindsey and P. A. Scales, the last named man being the president of the board.<sup>7</sup> On looking over the minutes of this body, one finds nothing that would suggest any corruption in the awarding of public contracts throughout the reconstruction period. Contrary to the practice that obtained in counties under the carpetbag rule, we find that in Lee County appropriations were made in a very economical way. No extravagant prices were paid for bridges, the keeping of paupers,

<sup>4</sup>*Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 27-52.

<sup>5</sup>Mr. O. L. Kennedy, of Guntown, Miss.

<sup>6</sup>Absence of mention of any in the minutes of the board of police indicate that this statement is correct. It is also vouched for by old citizens of the county.

<sup>7</sup>Minutes of the police board, in the chancery clerk's office, give this information.

etc. One striking thing to be noted is the exemption by the board of two ex-Confederate soldiers from paying taxes on the ground that they had been good soldiers and were then disabled on account of injuries received in the late war.

As the county was new, we find a great deal of local legislation. Among the most important acts were those which located the county site at Tupelo, made an appropriation for a courthouse at that place and provided for the removal of records and abstracts from Pontotoc and Itawamba counties.

In 1870 the only change in the membership of the county legislative body was made by the election of S. J. High to succeed P. A. Scales.<sup>8</sup> The name of this body had in the meantime been changed from board of police to that of board of supervisors. Mr. S. J. High was the first president of the body after the name had been changed.

The county was represented in the lower house of the Legislature during this period by James F. Nabers (1870-71), by T. M. Goar and R. M. Leavell<sup>9</sup> (1872-73), by W. H. H. Tyson and J. M. Eckford (1874-75). The representatives in the Senate were W. J. Stricklin (1870-72), R. H. Allen (1872-80<sup>10</sup>). All of these men were prominent citizens of the county and were well qualified to represent its interests. They played no small part in trying to restore the State to peace and order, as is shown by the published proceedings of the Legislature. It was Col. W. H. H. Tyson who introduced the resolution in the House of Representatives charging A. K. Davis, then Lieutenant-Governor, with bribery and corruption in the exercise of the pardoning power.

At the beginning of the reconstruction period the sheriff of the county was J. M. Dillard; the Probate Judge, Jacob Barton; the Probate Clerk, Dock Cyperf; the County Court Clerk, A. J. Cochran; the County Court Judge, Ira Hunt; the County Treasurer, J. D. Port. All of these men were removed when the State passed under military rule, and the following Republicans were appointed to fill their places: Sheriff, B. Y. Horton, who served for only a short time, his successor being J. B.

<sup>8</sup> Minutes of the board of police for 1870.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. R. M. Leavell is at the present time an honored member of the faculty of the University of Mississippi.

<sup>10</sup> Lowry & McCardle's *History of Mississippi*, p. 531.

Barton; County Treasurer, R. C. Stone; Superintendent of Education, J. D. Barton, who resigned (1874) to accept the appointment of Chancellor of the Eighth Judicial District.<sup>11</sup> All these men were local Republicans, but changed their party affiliations for the sake of office. They made no radical change in the government of the county.

As has been already stated, no fraudulent contracts were made by the board of supervisors. A scandal arose in this period, however, by the fraudulent action of negro school teachers, who, in order to increase their pay, marked pupils present when they were absent. Among those tried for this offense was one Lewis Kehleim, who was found guilty of the charge and fined.<sup>12</sup> A scandal also arose out of the fact that the superintendent of education issued warrants to teachers without regard to the amount of money in the treasury. As a result, the holders of these warrants were forced to sell them at an enormous discount, a large proportion of them bringing only thirty cents in a dollar.<sup>13</sup> The greater part of these warrants were bought by a man named Stone. At this time it was strongly believed by a number of citizens that the superintendent of education and Stone were in league to speculate on the warrants; but this is now doubted by a few of the citizens. Stone demanded that the board make a special appropriation to pay off these warrants. This it refused to do, having suspected that fraud was connected with the matter. A legal battle followed in which counsel was employed by the board at a great expense to the county. The final result was that the board had to make the demanded appropriation.

As stated above, no Republican held office during this period save those appointed by Ames. In fact, no Republican has ever held office in Lee County by election. During the reconstruction period no Republican was brave enough to meet the Democrats in joint discussion.<sup>14</sup> Several political speeches were made by men who, although really Republicans, went under the name of Green-Backers. The most prominent of these men

<sup>11</sup>This list of officers is taken from the manuscript diary of O. L. Kennedy, Guntown, Miss.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>This statement is made on the authority of Dr. R. M. Leavell, University, Miss.

were John Housie, Dr. Mayfield and Dr. Armstrong.<sup>15</sup> In one of the campaigns, some mischievous Democrats persuaded two negroes, Ben Shelton and Roadman Patterson, to run for the Legislature.<sup>16</sup> Of course they received very few votes, the whole matter being considered as a farce. The principal issues discussed by the candidates were the extravagance of State officers, corrupt officials, and riots. Although Lee County was spared from the horrible negro and carpetbag rule which characterized so many of the other counties, she lost no time in trying in every way to aid less fortunate counties. She sent her wisest men to her distressed neighbors to help bring order out of chaos.<sup>17</sup> Among those sent out for this purpose were Col. W. H. H. Tyson, Col. R. O. Bean, Thos. Blair, W. S. J. Adams and John M. Allen.<sup>18</sup>

#### PARTIES AND PARTY METHODS.

During this period there were in Lee County a large number of old line Whigs.<sup>19</sup> They looked on the Democratic party with distrust, believing the policy of that party to be detrimental to the best interests of the country. They were adverse to affiliating with the Democrats, but were not sufficiently strong to organize a party of their own. The right of suffrage having just been granted to the negro, the Democrats became suspicious of the Whig element. At a Democratic convention held early in the period of reconstruction the word "Conservative" was prefixed to their party name. This seemed to satisfy the Whigs, and all of them in Lee County joined the "Conservative Democratic Party."

There were but few Republicans in the county, not enough to nominate candidates for county offices. The leader of this

<sup>15</sup>O. L. Kennedy is authority for this statement.

<sup>16</sup>Roadman Patterson now lives near Saltillo, Miss.; Ben Shelton died several years ago.

<sup>17</sup>L. T. Taylor, Verona, Miss., is authority for this statement.

<sup>18</sup>Mr. Allen is better known as "Private John" Allen. When he was only nineteen years old he greatly distinguished himself in North Mississippi by the effectiveness of his fight against the Constitution of 1869, when it was first submitted to the vote of the people. For a sketch of his life, see *Congressional Biographical Directory*.

<sup>19</sup>Information from Mr. O. L. Kennedy.

party was a Mr. Simonton,<sup>20</sup> brother to John Simonton, the strong Democratic leader.

The Democratic party was led by such men as W. S. J. Adams, J. L. Finley, Col. John A. Blair, O. L. Kennedy, J. D. Williams and Capt. R. M. Leavell, the last of whom was chairman of the county Democratic committee. The greatest of all these leaders, however, was Col. W. H. H. Tyson,<sup>21</sup> who, after laying aside his sword, fought for his party with the same zeal and determination that had characterized him during the war.

As has already been stated, the citizens of the county were in no danger of carpetbag rule themselves, yet they were deeply interested in the affairs of the State and of other counties which were so unfortunate as to be under carpetbag rule. For this reason politics were at a high pitch when it came to a State election, and the Democrats were ever on the alert to use every

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<sup>20</sup> Dr. R. M. Leavell stated that Mr. Simonton was the Republican leader of that time.

<sup>21</sup> Col. W. H. H. Tyson was born in Jackson County, Alabama, November 6, 1822, and was killed at Baldwyn December 4, 1882. When he was a small boy his father removed to Tishomingo County, Mississippi. Colonel Tyson was a self-made man, having obtained most of his education at odd times while working as a saddler. At the age of twenty-three he began the publication of the *Eastport Republican* at Carrollville, now an extinct town. It was while editing this paper that he made his strong fight against know-nothingism in Mississippi. In 1856 he was elected to represent Tishomingo County in the Legislature. In 1850 he was appointed by President Buchanan as United States Marshal for the Northern District of Mississippi. In his application for this position he had the support of his life-long friend, Hon. Jacob Thompson.

When the war broke out he organized a company, the "Jacob Thompson Guards," which became part of the Nineteenth regiment of Mississippi volunteers. After serving a year in Virginia he was made colonel of the Thirty-second Mississippi volunteers. He was in many important battles in Virginia and Georgia, being wounded once at Resaca and once at Franklin. As a soldier throughout the entire period he won an enviable reputation.

After the war Colonel Tyson was in the lead in North Mississippi fighting the reconstruction measures. He was disfranchised for years, but he was nevertheless the strongest worker in Mississippi against the Constitution framed by the carpetbaggers, and submitted to the people for ratification. He probably did more towards the impeachment of Governor Ames than did any other man. After his disabilities were removed he was elected to represent Lee County in the Legislature, and was successively re-elected until his death. He was at the time of his death Speaker of the House of Representatives. Perhaps no other man has rendered more faithful service in the State Legislature than Colonel Tyson, as is shown by the journal of the lower house at that time. For fuller account of this illustrious man, see Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, Vol. II, p. 913.

possible device to capture the negro and the scattering white Republican votes in all State elections.

The negroes during this period were easily managed by any man who claimed to be a Republican. They organized themselves into Union Leagues, believing that in this way they could better prepare themselves to use their right of suffrage. These leagues would, on the days for a State election, march to the polls by twos. The marching feature was not, however, so prominent as in many other counties. The Democrats of the county also formed well-organized clubs in their respective towns. With red caps on their heads as a kind of uniform they would frequently ride all night in squads of from three to five hundred. They were accompanied by speakers, both black and white, who would appeal to the negroes to divorce themselves from their "Republican enemies," showing them that the Republicans were deceiving them in order to ride into office. They would pass the negro cabins without word or threat, causing the negroes to remain peacefully at home, thereby escaping the troubles that befell their brothers elsewhere.

Although there were no real carpetbaggers in this county to organize the negro, negro workers, who had been trained by carpetbaggers in other counties, came into the county and endeavored to excite them to mischief.<sup>22</sup>

The political meetings of the county were more of a "happen so" than otherwise. The best speakers of the county would make it a point to be present at picnics and barbecues and express themselves in regard to the condition of the State. On no occasion do we have an account of a joint debate between the Republicans and Democrats.

In the meantime, however, the negroes were going from bad to worse, under the leadership of unworthy white men. Many devices were resorted to to checkmate their political schemes, in State elections alone, as there was no need for such in county elections. Colonel Clayton tells of a friend at Mooresville who, just before a State election, happened to come into possession of a Republican ticket on which was a picture. As the ignorant

<sup>22</sup>Mr. L. T. Taylor, Verona, Miss., is authority for these statements. For a sketch of Mr. Taylor's life, see Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, Vol. II, p. 884.

negroes knew the ticket they were voting only by the picture at the top, it was easy for the leading politician to duplicate it with the exception of the names, and at this particular election, strange to say, but very few negroes voted the Republican ticket. Nor did the Democrats have any scruples whatever against stuffing the ballot-box outright when it was thought necessary.

Mr. O. L. Kennedy says that on one occasion he was present at a certain voting precinct in the county where the clerk had a pocket full of tickets made out. When a negro would hand him his vote, the clerk would put this in one pocket and draw out another of his own liking from his other pockets. Such things occurred only at State elections. But after a few of these tricks had been played on the negro he became more cautious, and other schemes had to be resorted to.

As has been said, it was customary for the negroes to march to the polls by twos. This became very distasteful to the citizens of the different towns in the county, and when election day came around in 1873, the white men managed to have one or two cannon, or ordinary anvils, at every box in the county. When the negroes arrived these were fired, and men standing around in the crowd would occasionally fire a pistol. Not a word was said to the negroes about not voting as they pleased, nor was any open intimidation resorted to, but the negroes did not vote.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, in 1875, Lee County, in common with other counties of the State, decided that the State had enough bad rule and that it must stop. In Lee County, at a meeting of prominent workers, composed of W. H. H. Tyson, Colonel Blair, John M. Allen, T. M. Goar and many others, they decided to make a house-to-house canvass of the county. They searched out their brother in black in order to persuade him to vote with them in the approaching State election. Many agreed to do so, answering, however, in such a manner as to lead white men to believe that they were lying; others were sullen and would make no promises. When election day came these men managed to have a man arrive on the ground early at Tupelo, Saltillo, Baldwyn and other voting places and organize for active opposition to

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<sup>23</sup>Col. W. L. Clayton, of Tupelo, is authority for this statement.

the negroes. The negroes did not come in solid phalanxes, having decided that it would not be in good taste on this occasion. The greater part of them wished to vote the Republican ticket. No violence was offered them, but a squad of whites would surround a negro and, having persuaded him to vote their way, would give the "rebel yell," and thus, one by one, the negroes' votes were cast for the Democrats with the exception of a few who retired without voting.<sup>24</sup>

Only one case of intimidation is known to have taken place openly in the county preceding this general election of 1875, and that happened only a few miles east of Tupelo. Colonel Clayton and Green Merrill, a white man who had a great deal of influence with the negroes, went throughout the county to talk with them during this campaign. On their way home on the evening preceding the election day they saw, near the road, a negro who had been dodging them all that day. They went to him and used all known arguments on him for some time, but to no avail, since he remained silent and defiant. Having failed to accomplish the desired result they started off, when suddenly Merrill raised himself to his full height in his saddle, looked back at the negro and said, emphatically, "You vote the Republican ticket to-morrow and I'll send you to h—l with a pitchfork." In reply to Colonel Clayton's question why he had used such an expression, Merrill said, "When you fail in every way with a negro, if you threaten to send him to h—l with a pitchfork he will do what you want him to do."

In this State election the Democrats were successful and the rule of the carpetbagger, which had dominated the South for so many years, was broken.

#### FREEDMEN AS CITIZENS.

To the everlasting credit of the negro, it must be said that most of them in Lee County remained at home taking care of their master's property during and after the war.

Colonel Clayton, in speaking of his father's slaves, says that they were slow to grasp the idea that they were free men and

<sup>24</sup>This account is taken from Colonel Clayton's article, "Pen Pictures of Olden Times," which appeared in the November (1906) numbers of the *Tupelo Journal*.

could not for several weeks after having had the Proclamation explained to them dispel the idea that they would be punished if caught without passes. But when once they learned, indirectly, from the carpetbagger that the "bottom rail was on top" they forgot their old masters and tried to place themselves in a single day in the ranks of men who in the beginning were created superior, and who had also had centuries of development in the arts of civilization.

Of course, there are exceptions to the above statement. A few negroes through all these dark days remained loyal to their masters. Among this class may be named Jim Hussey, an old negro who lived near Mooresville.<sup>25</sup>. This old negro, even when the others marched to the polls in solid Republican phalanx, voted the Democratic ticket, saying that surely "whatever was good for the white man would be good for the negro." It must be said, however, that the class to which "Uncle" Jim belonged was exceedingly small in Lee County.

#### THE KU KLUX KLAN.<sup>26</sup>

This klan was organized in Lee County by an Irishman named John Cole, who lived at Saltillo. Mr. Cole was sent to Memphis in the spring of 1870 to take the required oath and to get a commission to organize a klan in Lee County.

The man from whom I obtained this information was the third man in the county to take the oath. It might not be out of place here to say that he was one of the most prominent citizens of the county, having represented it for several years in the State Legislature. It may also be interesting to know that the entire membership list was made up of men prominent in both Church and State. The oath of membership required was a rigid one, the penalty for its breach being death. A prospective member was first voted on without his knowledge. If he was elected to membership a committee was appointed to visit him to inform him of his election. He was always closely examined in advance, however, to make sure that he would be sound on the matter. After acceptance he was, on

<sup>25</sup>Colonel Clayton's "Pen Pictures of Olden Times," *Tupelo Journal*, November issues for 1906.

<sup>26</sup>Name of authority withheld by request.

the night of his initiation, met by a disguised guard and led to the meeting place, where the password was required of the guide. This password was changed for every meeting. After reaching the place of meeting and being warned that death would be the penalty for violating his obligation, the candidate was then required to give an affirmative answer to the following questions. This oath<sup>27</sup> was in part as follows: "Do you solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that you will do all in your power, giving life if necessary, to protect the honor of your wife, mother, sister and all those of your neighbors?"

The klan exercised great power for good throughout the county in keeping down the vicious negroes. But the organization, like many others of its kind, was abused. Men with the brutal intentions soon began to form squads to which they gave the name "Ku Klux." Many innocent negroes were whipped unmercifully.<sup>28</sup> Among those negroes that I have heard talk about the severe whippings on bare backs were Joe Williams and Starling Galloway. Both said that blood was cut from them in several places. The former being whipped because he could not tell where a certain other negro was to be found, of whom he knew nothing. White men were also visited for the most trivial offenses, and on one occasion an innocent old Englishman named Reding,<sup>29</sup> living near Baldwyn, was whipped to death. The better element decided to put a stop to the cruel deeds of this mob. Mass meetings were held and addresses made against it, chiefly by Col. M. D. Holder, now of Memphis, Tenn., and Hon. John M. Allen, of Tupelo, Miss. These meetings were very effective in putting an end to the latter organization, which, much to the discredit of the real Ku Klux Klan, has often been classed with it.

#### WORKING OF THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU.<sup>30</sup>

The Federal garrison for this district was located at Corinth. It was placed there on the pretense of protecting the negroes,

<sup>27</sup>This oath was given from memory.

<sup>28</sup>Capt. Fred Kohlein, of Guntown, Miss.

<sup>29</sup>Hon. O. L. Kennedy, of Guntown, Miss.

<sup>30</sup>All information in regard to the Freedman's Bureau was obtained from O. L. Kennedy, of Guntown, Miss., and Leroy Taylor, Verona, Miss.

but really for the purpose of cementing the Republican party and alienating the blacks from the whites. The negroes would go to Corinth and report the depredations against them, often accusing innocent men. As a result of this, the Federal soldiers would raid the country, arresting men who were guilty of no crime whatever. Among these men who were arrested and imprisoned was an aged man named Colman Thompson, who was forced to stay in jail for several months. The same detachment of soldiers, on one occasion, went to the home of John Turner, an ex-Confederate soldier who had not been reconstructed, in order to arrest him and carry him to headquarters. With that self-confidence and bravery which had been so typical of the Southern soldiers, Turner barricaded himself in his log house when he saw that there were only six men in the company. Several shots were fired on both sides, and Turner finally succeeded in shooting down the officer of the company. The other five men then went back after reinforcements; but on their return they found that Turner had fled.

A young man named Kennedy, who lived in the northern part of the county, having been reported by a worthless negro for a trivial offense, was shot down in his own yard without the least semblance of a trial. As far as I know the only man now living in Lee County who suffered at the hands of Federal troops at this time is O. L. Kennedy, of Guntown, an honored citizen and ex-member of the House of Representatives. He was reported for some matter unknown to him. The soldiers came to his house looking for him, but finding that he was away on business, they told his wife that they were after him and would kill him when they caught him. When Mr. Kennedy came home and his family informed him of the soldiers' threat, he was forced to leave the State and remain away several months.

It might be safely said that this garrison caused the people more real trouble than any other one thing throughout the entire period of reconstruction.

## RECONSTRUCTION IN ATTALA COUNTY.

BY EDWARD CLARKE COLEMAN, JR.<sup>1</sup>

In reading through the records of the stormy period of reconstruction in the different sections of Mississippi, it is just that we consider some of its better phases as well as its evils. Much has been said and written of the evils of the reconstruction period in the different sections of the South, and the picture of the indignities heaped upon the Southern people, when they were well-nigh helpless and homeless, has not been overdrawn. Yet there are some sections of the South in which the evils of this period were but little felt.

The history of Attala County during the period of reconstruction was decidedly a unique one. Possibly no other county in

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<sup>1</sup>This contribution is the result of investigations prosecuted by the author while a member of the historical seminary of the University of Mississippi, in the session of 1906-07. At the end of that session it was accepted as a graduating thesis in that institution. Since the completion of his University course, Mr. Coleman has entered upon a business career in Kosciusko, Miss., his native town.

Dr. E. C. Coleman, father of the writer of this contribution, is now president of the Mississippi Board of Health, and holds responsible positions in the Presbyterian Church, of which he is an honored member. He is of English and French extraction, his maternal ancestors being Solomon Clarke, a wealthy and aristocratic citizen of Charleston, S. C., whose family came from England, and Mrs. (Bochet) Clarke, a member of one of the early Huguenot families of the same State. At the outbreak of the War of Secession Dr. Coleman's father was living on a plantation near Memphis. His fortune was swept away by the invading armies, and he died shortly thereafter, leaving a son and several daughters to be reared by his widow. That her duty was well performed is amply attested by the fact that all her children are useful and honored members of the respective communities in which they live.

Dr. Coleman's wife, mother of the writer of this contribution, is a descendant of Matthew Clarke, who came from Wales and settled in Virginia in colonial days and, with his two brothers, served under Washington in the Revolution. He was present at the surrender of Cornwallis. After the Revolution Matthew Clarke settled near Anderson, S. C., on a farm which is still in the possession of his descendants. His son, James Green Clarke, married Frances Webb, cousin of Commodore Cornelius Stribling, and removed to Mississippi with his family in 1836. He first settled in Winston County and later (1843) removed to Attala County. The father of Mrs. Coleman settled in Kosciusko in 1853, where he resided until his death in 1905. He married Annie T. McNulty, of Ft. Ann, N. Y., a gifted teacher who came to Mississippi in 1857. For seventy years he was a member of the Methodist Church and for fifty-three years a Master Mason. He filled all the important offices in his blue lodge, chapter and commandery, and probably instructed more young Masons than has any other man in the history of the State.—EDITOR.

the State could boast of a record as clean and untainted during this trying period when corruption, greed and vandalism was the rule and honesty and official integrity the exception. Not only in Mississippi, but in every section of the South, was it the case that the victors in arms sought to cover the defeated with indignities, such as have seldom been heaped upon a conquered people. Never was there a greater problem so suddenly presented to a people than that which confronted the people of the South when their slaves were vested with citizenship and the leadership given to a class of people whose interests were so foreign to them.

It is an interesting fact that in the Secession Convention Attala's delegates voted against secession. When the Secession Convention was called, Attala sent Union delegates, to wit: E. H. Sanders and a lawyer by the name of Wood. Wood afterward boasted of being the only delegate who refused to sign the ordinance of secession.<sup>2</sup> After the State seceded, however, Attala supported the cause of the Confederacy with all her might. Her sturdy sons went forth at the first call to arms and were true and tried veterans in the four long years of conflict that followed.

Fortunately the county was not in the path of the "awful storm of war." The county was therefore more prosperous and less hampered at the close of the war than were many of the less fortunate counties. It is certainly highly to the credit of the county that in the period of transition it could govern itself and control the negroes without riot or bloodshed. This was due mainly to the character of the men who led in its affairs and shaped its policies. They were, so far as the writer can ascertain, all high-toned Christian gentlemen, men of honor and principle. Most of them had lived in the county and had the highest interest of the people at heart. They represent the better element of Republicans in the South—men who were not tempted by the "spoils of office" and the private gain which could have been theirs, had they allied themselves with the carpetbag and scalawag element.

To show something of the citizenship of Attala County, I quote part of an article on Kosciusko found in Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, as follows:

<sup>2</sup>Judge H. C. Niles is authority for this statement.

"No town, old or young, big or little, has furnished so many distinguished men in law, politics, science and theology as has Kosciusko. A history of her illustrious men would make a book of itself. It may be proper to mention a few of these noted gentlemen who are known over the State: Gen. Henry Gray, Judge Robert Hudson, Judge Sam Young, Judge Rasselias Boyd, Judge C. H. Campbell, Judge Joseph A. P. Campbell, Judge Jason Niles, Judge H. C. Niles, Col. C. L. Anderson, Hon. S. L. Dodd, George W. Cable, Bishop Charles B. Galloway, Rev. T. A. S. Adams and Rev. J. H. Alexander. These men all made their start at Kosciusko and had their reputation before leaving it."

I quote this because nearly all of the above were residents of Kosciusko during the reconstruction period and some of them were the most influential leaders of the county at that time. These men had the confidence of the people, and the negroes regarded their word as law. Hence good feeling was preserved between the whites and the blacks, also between the political parties. As one of the leading office-holders<sup>3</sup> in this period tells me: "We knew that the white man must and will control the negro," with a decided emphasis on the "must" and "will." This was the secret of Attala's success in controlling her own affairs: the character of her leaders and the power they had in influencing her citizenship.

#### PUBLIC OFFICIALS.

In the records of the board of police I find that in 1867 this body was composed of Iley Coleman, President; James T. Williams, Martin L. Harmon, Marshall H. Gregory, and James T. Mathis. The other county officers were: I. W. Scarborough, Probate Judge; W. P. Love, Treasurer; John C. Lucas, Sheriff; W. V. Davis, Chancery Clerk; James H. Wallace, Circuit Clerk.

All of these men were citizens of Attala County. They were men of good moral character and unquestioned integrity. They were men of higher intellectual ability than the county officers in the years immediately preceding the war.

I have been told that just before the war the board of police was composed of a set of good, honest men who served the county well, but who were not so well qualified as educated men. On one occasion there were two men on the board, both good farmers, who could neither read nor write. Judge S. C. Conly relates this incident about them. A bill had been passed by

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<sup>3</sup>This statement is based on the authority of Judge S. C. Conly.

the State Legislature, subject to the action of the county boards entitled, "For the relief of the poor and ignorant." This measure was brought up before the board for their consideration before they appropriated any funds for carrying it into effect. On the first reading these two members were so very much offended at the idea of providing for the "ignorant" that they refused to vote for the measure. On another reading, however, the President apologized for his error and read it "For the relief of the poor and indigent," whereupon the two "indigent" members readily agreed to give all their support toward it, and the bill passed.

Another amusing story is told of one of the county treasurers just before the war.<sup>4</sup> This official, as it happened, could neither read nor write, yet he made a good, honest official. He lived in a small house near the town of Kosciusko. As this was before the time of banks in this section, the selection of a safe place for keeping the county funds was no easy matter. Like most good and honest men, the then treasurer of Attala County had the utmost confidence in the honesty of others. He did not think it necessary to put the county money in an iron vault, but used instead an old chest which had neither lock nor hinges. Yet this old chest held all the county money safe and secure under the bed of the treasurer. The board of police usually appropriated certain amounts of money to be expended for different purposes, such as the bridge funds, school funds, etc. Not being able to read or write, our treasurer kept these funds separate by keeping them in different colored sacks. For instance, he would keep the road fund in a red sack and the school fund in a blue sack, etc. His wife would read the warrants to him and he would accordingly pay them out of the red sack or blue sack. Although crude and simple in his business methods, this man was honest, and there is no record of any loss to the county through carelessness during his term of office.

The county officials during reconstruction were men of a different stamp. They were not only honest, but well educated, aggressive men, who were well qualified to guard the interests of the county in this period of disorder and confusion. More in detail of these officials will be said later.

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<sup>4</sup>A number of citizens related this incident, among them the present chancery clerk, E. L. Ray.

The question of controlling the negroes was never an issue in Attala County. The situation was always under the control of the native Republican leaders, whose word was law to the ignorant negroes. The negro was still dependent upon the white people for employment, and, soon after being liberated, they began to make contracts with their late masters, some for stated wages, others on the share system. It was somewhat amusing to observe with what caution and extreme bewilderment these new citizens went about signing and acknowledging contracts with their employers before the magistrates. There was no regular form for these contracts and, to fill this want, and to facilitate business, Col. Shellman Durham, Mayor of Kosciusko, concluded that he would get up a blank form for his own convenience and for the use of those who came to him on this business. Now the Colonel's head was not exactly brimful and running over with legal knowledge, so that the form, when printed in small type, covered a full page of foolscap paper. The word "aforsaid" occurred one hundred and twenty-one times in this famous document.<sup>5</sup> After having signed these contracts the negroes were practically under the control of their employers, usually their "old masters," who were kind to them. At election times, however, the "old master" would make it clear to his negroes that if they did not vote with him and for his candidate they would have to leave and find work elsewhere. This usually had the desired effect, because the negro cared more for his immediate comfort than for the pleasure of voting against his master.

#### ELECTIONS.

The elections were carried on in a dignified manner. There was abundant interest, but no violence. Both parties nominated good men, highly respected all over the county. Joint debates were very common and much interest was manifested in them. The campaigns were lively and hard fought, but at all times free from bitterness. The fact that in every case, with one possible exception, the candidates were citizens of the county, is very significant. No negro was ever allowed to run for office

<sup>5</sup>This statement is made on the authority of J. H. Wallace, of Center, Miss., who was circuit clerk of Attala County in 1867.

as far as I can ascertain. Only one ever held an official position in the county, and he was a negro preacher, Isaac Teague, who was appointed member of the school board from beat four.<sup>6</sup>

Only one carpetbagger ever obtained hold to the extent of being elected to an office, and at the time of his election he had lost all identity as a carpetbagger. This man was Lieutenant C. H. Foster, from Ohio, who came to Attala as a representative of the Freedman's Bureau. He had a company of white Federal soldiers stationed at Kosciusko for a time, but, seeing that there was no danger of any trouble, he had them recalled. Foster remained in Kosciusko for some time and became thoroughly identified with the people there. He married Miss Charlotte Sanders, a Kosciusko girl, and settled down there. After living in that place a number of years he moved to New Orleans. This is the extent to which the county was troubled by carpet-baggers.

Foster was at one time election manager. Colonel Anderson, later Congressman from the Fourth District, tells how Foster carried the ballot box home with him one night for safe keeping. Colonel Anderson and another man were deputized by the Democrats to go to Foster's house and guard the box all night to prevent any "stuffing."

The elections then lasted several days. Kosciusko was the most important voting precinct, as most of the votes in the county were cast there. Witnesses say that the negroes would come in several days ahead of time to vote, so that when the polls were opened on election day, there was usually such a crowd of them standing around that the white men could hardly get to the boxes. This arrangement was finally made, however: the election commissioners had the ballot box in a large room, to which no outsider was admitted. The voters were formed in a long line, two abreast, usually two white men followed by two negroes, and marched by a window, handing their votes in from the outside. Ropes were stretched at a distance of forty feet from the window, just wide enough to allow two to march abreast. There was no other way of reaching the window except by forming in this line between the ropes.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Statement of J. H. Wallace.

<sup>7</sup>This fact was related by Judge S. C. Conly, Col. C. L. Anderson and Judge H. C. Niles.

In this way there was very little intimidation of voters. Such means were not resorted to as a general thing, though it is said that the negroes were deceived a number of times by allowing white men to inspect their ballots after they were in the line. This was, however, very exceptional. The Ku Klux were charged with trying to make the negroes vote "right," but this was not done to any appreciable extent. Much interest was manifested in the elections.

As the polls were open for several days, outsiders could find out how the vote stood before the final count was made. Colonel Anderson says that on one occasion it was found out that the Democrats lacked only a few votes of winning the election. As the polls would be open another day he got on his horse and rode to New Port, sixteen miles away, and got enough voters to come in to carry the election.

The ballot box was stuffed on a number of occasions by both parties on account of "absolute necessity." On one occasion a Republican was running for the office of justice of the peace. Over five hundred votes had been cast and this Republican, a good man, too, was declared elected by a majority of fifty votes. The ballot box was placed in the sheriff's office after the count had been made. Early the next morning a few Democrats got into the office and counted over the votes themselves and found over three hundred straight Democratic tickets.<sup>8</sup>

To show the sentiment and position of the county in State and national politics, I will give the county vote in several different elections:<sup>9</sup>

In 1869, in the race for Governor, Alcorn, the Republican candidate, received 1,074 votes against 564 for Dent, the Democratic candidate. In 1873, for the same office, Ames received 1,107 votes against 1,310 for Alcorn, whom the Democrats were running. In 1872, in the Presidential election, Grant received 1,076 votes against 795 for Greeley. In the county elections the Republicans were in control until 1872, when the Democratic ticket won. The Democrats remained in control after that date.

<sup>8</sup> Related by Judge S. C. Conly.

<sup>9</sup> From statistics found in the Appendix to the Proceedings in the trial of Governor Ames.

John C. Lucas was appointed sheriff by Governor Sharkey in 1865 and, being re-elected in the county elections, served in that capacity until 1870. He did more than any other man in getting a railroad built to Kosciusko.<sup>10</sup> He was a very energetic man, of popular manners and a thoroughly consecrated Christian. He was superintendent of the Methodist Sunday-school at Kosciusko for a number of years.

Judge S. C. Conly was a Pennsylvanian who came to Mississippi in the fifties as a millwright. He was a wealthy man at the time and brought about \$70,000 into the county, but lost nearly all he had during the war. He served as Probate Judge in 1865-6; was a member of the board of police in 1874-5; represented the county with Judge Niles in the "Black and Tan" convention of 1868;<sup>11</sup> and was an influential citizen all through the reconstruction period. Judge Conly was unselfish and broad minded. He advocated schools and paid a heavy school tax, although he had no children himself, because he said that he thought it the best way to improve the condition of the country.

Judge Jason Niles was one of the most influential men in the county at this time, and rendered the county great service in advising the negroes as to their duty. They had the greatest confidence in his judgment. He moved to Kosciusko in 1848 and remained there until his death in 1894. He was appointed Circuit Judge by Governor Alcorn, served as a member of the State Legislature and was later elected to represent his district in Congress. Judge Niles was a man of learning and culture and reflected honor upon his county, both as a citizen and as an official.

The following is taken from the *Kosciusko Star*<sup>12</sup> and explains itself:

"A GOOD APPOINTMENT."

"Governor Ames has appointed Hon. R. Boyd as chancellor from the third chancery district, vice Wesley Drane. This is a good appointment. Mr. Boyd is a young gentleman of fine legal attainments, of exceptional moral character, and will reflect honor upon the important position to which he has been appointed. We heartily congratulate our young friend

<sup>10</sup>A branch road was first built from Durant to Kosciusko, and it was later extended to Aberdeen. This is now known as the Aberdeen Branch of the Illinois Central.

<sup>11</sup>See Lowry & McCordle's *History of Mississippi* for full account.

<sup>12</sup>From a clipping without date.

upon his preferment and hope that he will find it to his interest to accept, as we feel confident that the people of the third district will find him "the right man in the right place."

Mr. Elisha Carnes possesses the distinction of having held office longer than any other man in the county. He held the office of justice of the peace of beat four continuously for thirty-eight years and, what is more remarkable, he was frequently elected without being a candidate. The people reposed great confidence in his ability. He held this office all through the reconstruction period. In politics he was an "old line Whig."

The men here named were identified with the Republican party. The Democrats who were elected later were of the same type. Even now the men of the two parties have no hard things to say about each other or about the men elected during these stormy times. Each one will confess freely that the other party was composed of good, honest men who served the county well.

#### PUBLIC CONTRACTS.

The records of the board of police furnish the best evidence of the honesty of the county officials. Here we find the record of perfect honesty and conscientiousness in the discharge of duty. The following is characteristic:

"Ordered by the Board that the contractors for the above-mentioned (five) bridges, when said contracts are let, be required to enter into bond with good and sufficient sureties for the faithful performance of their contracts, and that said contractors be required to complete their contracts by December 1, 1871."

In each instance when contract was awarded, they were careful to specify exactly all the details necessary, the kind of material, how the different bridges should be constructed, etc. The contracts were always let to local men.

On the minutes of March 3, 1874, I find the following:

"Ordered by the board that the building of four cabins for the poor be let to the lowest bidder."

Before that time paupers had been kept by private individuals at the expense of the county.

## TAXATION AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

For 1875 the minutes of the board show the following taxes levied for the county:

For teachers' fund .....	3 mills on the dollar
For schoolhouse fund.....	4 mill on the dollar
For judiciary fund.....	2 mills on the dollar
For building wall around courthouse..	5½ mills on the dollar

The last item in the levy was the cause of the downfall of that board of supervisors. The people regarded the idea of a brick wall around the courthouse as a piece of foolish extravagance and the order resulted in the death, politically, of every member of the board that sanctioned it.

Taxes, however, ran as high as twenty-three mills on the dollar.<sup>18</sup> The county tax was very reasonable, as the county was run on a firm, economical basis. It was the State tax, which went to support the recklessness of a carpetbag administration, that was so oppressive.

Most of the suffering in Attala was for industrial or economic reasons. There was no money in the county. The old Confederate greenbacks were utterly worthless and there was no other currency to take its place. Everything was sold by barter (1866). As merchants could not remain in business long without money, many of them failed. The Grange excitement went high. Nearly every farmer became a member. The understanding was that each Grange would be responsible for the trade of its members, so far as they could recommend, and the house was to let them have goods at twenty per cent. Mr. R. J. Irving got the trade of the Grangers, but it was almost impossible to keep stock enough to supply the demand. Many of the Grangers ran away without paying their debts, and collections were bad everywhere. To guard against losing their whole stock the merchants were forced to take cotton at a price higher than the market value. So in a short time this arrangement failed.

## THE KU KLUX KLAN.

There was no occasion for stringent measures in Attala County, yet the Ku Klux considered an organization necessary.

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<sup>18</sup>J. H. Wallace.

Doubtless the history of the period would have been different without them. One of them told me, "Things would have been absolutely intolerable without the Ku Klux." This organization was formed not merely for the purpose of keeping down the obstreperous negro, but for certain types of white men as well. It was especially useful in running out the bands of "bushwhackers" immediately after the close of the war. These bands, by their robberies and pilfering, had become a worse terror than even the negro.

I am not permitted to give the names of the members of the Ku Klux whom I have interviewed. To-day the people of Attala County know very little about the organization and what it accomplished. The few members that I know are all high-toned, honorable Christian men—men who are now prominent in social and business circles in the town of Kosciusko. This Klan was composed of about seventy-five members. It was unavoidable that a few "toughs" got into the organization, but, broadly speaking, it was composed of good men and was conducted on a high plain.

They had as their regalia that which is peculiar to the Ku Klux, the long white sheets, completely covering the body, with different symbols made of red calico pinned on them. I shall describe them, however, as they appeared to an old negro, "Uncle Hosea" Taylor. I cannot give his words, but will give briefly their contents. The Ku Klux came to his house one night looking for a negro by the name of "Orange." This negro had reported Captain Kennedy to the Federal troops for stealing a United States cavalry horse and had acted otherwise obstreperously, so that the Ku Klux determined to make an example of him. "Uncle Hose" went to his door and saw in the yard a number of "spirits," each riding a horse. The horses would walk around, but made hardly any noise at all, their feet being muffled with bags and cloths. One of these strange beings rode toward "Uncle Hose." His form and that of his horse, completely covered by white sheets with queer letters and figures on them, looked "pretty scarry:" He had a very large head, with a large nose located on the side of his face; his eyes were cut lengthwise and altogether the figure presented a gruesome appearance.

In a low, muffled voice the spirit said that he had come from the old world and that he was "mighty dry"—had had no water since the battle of Shiloh. The darkey, very obedient and desirous of pleasing the spirit, went out and brought him a large gourd of water, which he drank down at one good gulp. "Bring me a bucket of water," the spirit said, "I'm thirsty." He then proceeded to drink all of it, likewise the second and the third. His comrades, twelve in number, were also thirsty and wanted a little water. Each of them also proceeded to drink the contents of two or three buckets. Their capacity for water seemed unlimited. As they drank the old darkey "heard their insides rattle, and it rattled like a lot of sheet iron, or something of that sort."

Finding that the negro they wanted was not there they departed as silently as they had come. In this way the negroes became afraid of them. They would frequently ride around at night, and this had the desired effect.

The greatest trouble the Ku Klux had was with white men. One of the most notable cases was that of Sternberger, a Northern Jew, who was for a while engaged in the mercantile business at Kosciusko. Sternberger had been trying to stir up the negroes, advising them to "stand up for their rights." The Ku Klux decided that such a person was an undesirable citizen, so they waited upon him and notified him that his presence was no longer desired in the town and that he must leave at once and not return. Sternberger yielded readily to the "requests" of "his friends" and left Kosciusko, but a short time afterwards he returned at the head of a force of United States cavalry. It was his purpose to turn all of the Ku Klux into the hands of the troops. He did all he could to capture the leaders, but they were too wiry for him. At any rate none were captured.

After this incident each member of the Klan took the oath to kill Sternberger on sight if he ever came back. One of the members of the Klan met him on a country road some time later and killed him. This was generally believed throughout the county to be the result of entirely a private quarrel between Sternberger and Rayford, his slayer.

Another instance of the work of the Ku Klux was in connection with a merchant from St. Louis who had opened a store in

Kosciusko. His offense was similar to that of Sternberger. He was advised to leave, but refused to go. It was a very simple matter for the Ku Klux to add the proper stimulus. They went to his store one night and took him out very quietly. They then proceeded to carry all of his stock of goods out into the street where they made a bonfire of his wares. After having allowed him the privilege of watching this performance, they led him to a quiet place to deliberate further upon his case. The chief of the Klan then told him that he was going to submit it to a vote of the Klan as to whether he should be hanged or permitted to go free. When this vote was taken it was found that nineteen votes had been cast that he should hang and twenty that he should go free. The chief then announced the decision and asked the merchant if he could leave within the next twenty-four hours. His reply was that so much time was quite unnecessary, that he wanted only a few hours to be well on his way toward his northern home.

None of the Ku Klux were ever tried by the courts. Efforts were made several times to get them. On one occasion a company of United States cavalry caught two members of the Klan and tried to force them to give the names of the others connected with it. They put a rope around the neck of one of them and pulled him up several times, but every time he refused to betray his comrades. The Klan held a meeting while this was going on and formally notified the soldiers that if they did not release the two men not a single one of them would ever leave the county alive. This threat had the proper effect and the two were released.

The people of the county know less about the Ku Klux than any other phase of the reconstruction period. A number of reputable citizens told me that there might have been such an organization, but that they did not know anything done by them. Colonel Anderson, whom I have mentioned in another place, told me that a man from Kentucky tried to organize the Ku Klux and held a meeting in his office for that purpose. This agent told them what the Ku Klux were doing in other sections of the country and urged them to organize, going so far as to read the ritual to them. Colonel Anderson said that he could not subscribe to certain parts of the oath required,

and did not join. Several other influential men refused to join and tried to dissuade others. The writer could obtain information on this subject from only a few members of the Klan.

#### SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION.

As to the schools, I quote the following from a report of Rev. J. H. Alexander, who was superintendent of education:

"Number of educable children 6,303, of whom 2,509 are negroes. Most of the schools are taught on the subscription plan. We have had, in the proper sense, no public schools. In regard to school teachers, I would remark that the competent persons of the county have not, as a general thing, during the past few years, followed the vocation of teaching. Those who have the ability to teach successfully have turned to other departments of business and entered upon more lucrative professions.

"There are only nine school buildings. Many have been taught in the churches or in inferior houses and, in some instances, in rooms furnished by individual citizens of the county. Our board of school directors is composed of prudent and discreet men. They take an interest in the system of public education and may be relied upon to discharge their duty with fidelity, yet I doubt whether they can give satisfaction to all concerned."

Dr. Alexander filled the pulpit of the Presbyterian Church of Kosciusko for fifty years and was active in church affairs until a short time before his death in 1906. He accomplished more for education than did any other man in the county, and did much effective work among the negroes.

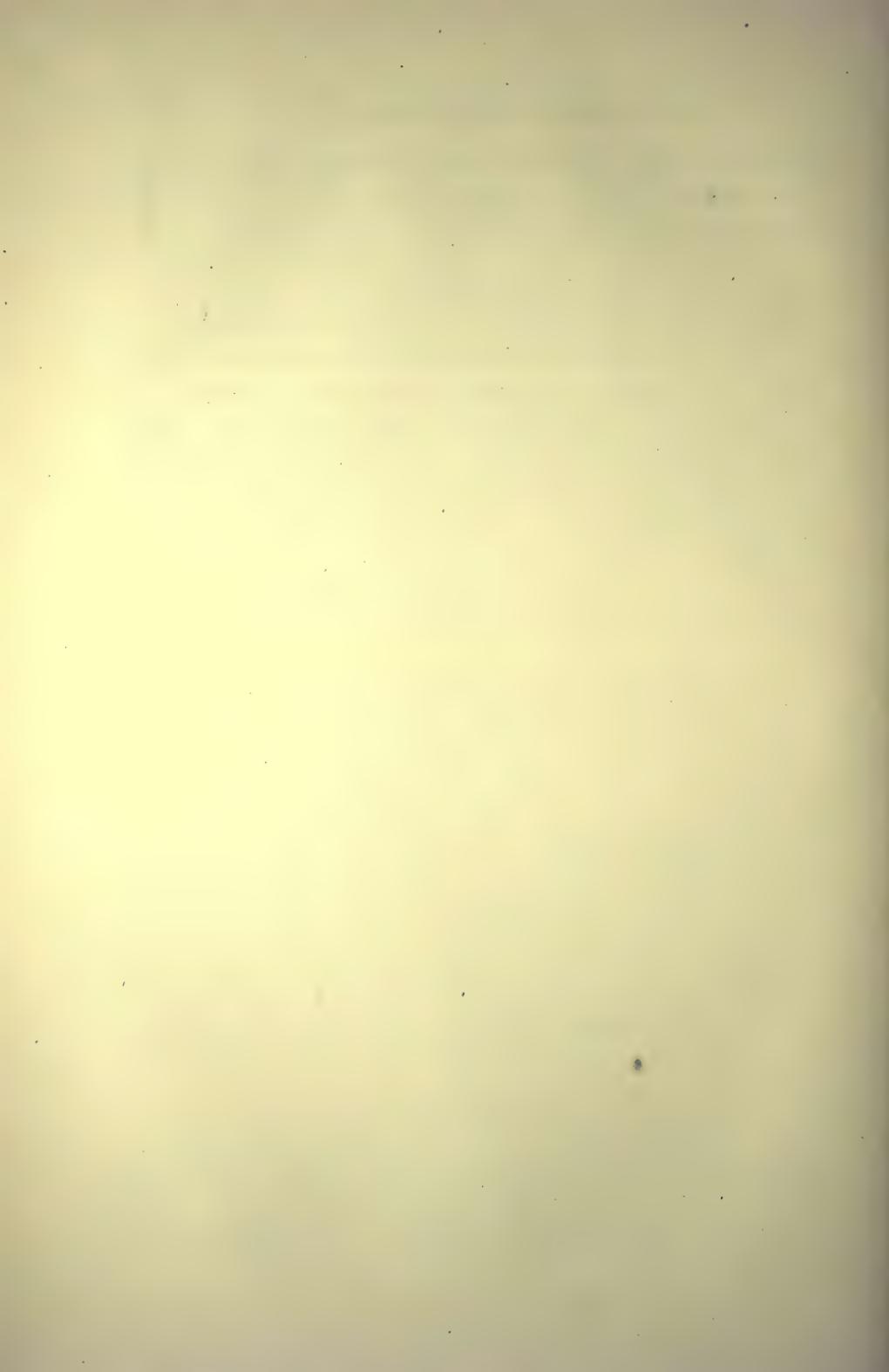
A lady from Massachusetts, Mrs. Breck, attempted to do some missionary work among the negroes around Kosciusko. It is said that they gathered at her house for instruction, but that on leaving, they would pass through the back yard and steal all her clothes off the line. This and other things which she learned so disgusted her that she gave it up as a bad job and returned to Massachusetts. When she told her Massachusetts friends what she thought of the negroes they regarded her as a rebel and refused to place much confidence in her words.

#### CONCLUSION.

Thus we find that in comparison with other counties and sections, Attala County was fairly prosperous in reconstruction times. The negroes who formed little more than one-third of the population, were at all times under control. The feeling

between the races was never violent. The negro did not figure as a prominent element in county politics. None were elected to any office. The Ku Klux were organized and active, yet acted only when necessity made it urgent. Political contests were conducted on a high plane. Little intimidation was used and unfair methods were the exception rather than the rule. No trouble was experienced from carpetbaggers. The Freedman's Bureau could not divorce the negroes from the feeling of loyalty to their "old masters," although such attempts were made.

No county in the State was more economically managed than Attala. Her officials were men of integrity and principle. This is probably the secret of her success in controlling local affairs—her leaders were her best citizens and their sole purpose was the county's welfare.



## THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING IN MISSISSIPPI.

By A. M. MUCKENFUSS.<sup>1</sup>

The State of Mississippi never has been, and perhaps never will be, a manufacturing State in the sense that we use this expression towards States like Massachusetts, New York or Ohio. Its greatest wealth, probably, must always lie in its rich soils and the varied products of its lands. But a strictly agricultural State is not an ideal commonwealth. Too many people have the same point of view. There is not enough friction of minds with different interests and varying aspirations to develop to the highest extent a great civilization. It is therefore devoutly to be hoped that the industrial life of Mississippi will continue to grow until a balance of power is maintained between the agricultural, mercantile and industrial classes. Then, indeed, will the great Constitution under which the State is now being governed reach its largest fruition.

One of the greatest drawbacks in the past towards the development of a manufacturing spirit in the State has been not only the lack of cities, but also the presence upon the borders of the State of four large cities, Memphis, New Orleans, Birmingham and Mobile. These have each several railroad lines crossing the State in every direction, and have drawn very largely upon those elements of the population which have most fully the manufacturing instinct. It is necessary for Mississippi to develop at least one large city, and the only feasible location is in the central portion of the State, far enough removed from outside centers of population. For this reason there will very probably be developed in the course of time a large industrial center in the heart of the State. In the historic past Natchez

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<sup>1</sup>A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. III, p. 235. Since the publication of that sketch (1900) Dr. Muckenfuss has served as Professor of Chemistry in the University of Arkansas and State Chemist of Arkansas (1902-1905). In 1905 he became Professor of Chemistry in the University of Mississippi, which position he now holds. In the summer of 1906 he conducted original investigations for the Dupont Powder Co., on the valuation of glycerine. During the following summer he did original work on a new test for paints under the employ of the Lowe Brothers Co., of Dayton, Ohio.—EDITOR.

has had the greatest prospect for occupying this pivotal position. At present Meridian leads in manufactures. Jackson is perhaps growing in this line faster than any other of the larger communities of the State. But Vicksburg, though its manufacturing progress seems to have been slow in the past, possesses, in the opinion of the author, the best location in the State for the growth of a large industrial community. Nestling upon the Walnut Hills, with the Yazoo River flowing past its doors, bringing the products of as rich lands as there are on the globe, facing the fertile and heavily timbered alluvial plantations of Louisiana, having in its rear the better part of the hill section of Mississippi, Vicksburg would seem to be the logical center for a circle of over a hundred miles in radius, and to have a better location even than Memphis. The great Mississippi, whose commerce is soon to be stimulated by the completion of the Panama Canal, will make of this home city a seaport, and the drainage of the alluvial territory tributary to the great river will bring a vast population, whose needs must be ministered unto by large and varied industries.

Another great drawback to the State in manufacturing, as it is to all the older States, is the loss of population through emigration to the States and Territories in the West. These States are now filling up. Land even in the new State of Oklahoma is becoming too high priced to stimulate emigration. It is believed, therefore, that this tide will soon be checked and the adventurous and more energetic elements of the population, which naturally seek a more favorable field, will be compelled by economic forces to remain at home and help to build up the State.

The wanton waste of raw materials in this, as in other States, will have an immense effect upon the industrial life of the future, as evidenced by the following statement in reference to Mississippi by the United States Department of Agriculture:<sup>2</sup> "The situation would be critical even if it meant the exhaustion of a great natural resource through close utilization and good methods of cutting. But inasmuch as cutting has been unusually severe and wasteful, and since fire almost invariably follows lumbering, more than half of the long leaf pine land of

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<sup>2</sup>*Forest Service Circular*, No. 48, p. 3.

the State has been converted into a blackened and barren waste. This means that over the larger part of the area there is little or no reproduction of the timber which, when once gone, will not be replaced by a new growth, which should be now coming on, and that immigration has not been fast enough to put the cleared lands under cultivation.” In this connection another quotation should warn us:<sup>3</sup> “The once splendidly timbered State of Indiana, which marketed her timber resources to be manufactured outside the State, principally in the East, until her larger portion was gone, learned too late by her own experience in manufacturing a mere remnant, that she had also lost far greater millions in disposing of her raw materials.”

The numerous gullies over the hill sections of this, as well as other States, evidence to the eye of thrift another great waste of raw materials—the loss of capital in the washing away of our once fertile hill lands. These results are caused by economic and social forces which we can direct but not control, but it is hoped that the Government Forest Service, assisted by State and National agricultural organizations, may succeed in time in teaching the people the folly of present growth at the expense of coming generations. These and other similar points will later be considered in greater detail.

In order to get more complete information as to the history of manufacturing in Mississippi, the writer selected thirty-seven towns, mostly railroad centers or county seats, whose location and growth indicated manufacturing possibilities. He then secured the latest telephone directories of these communities. As is well known, a telephone directory is revised at least once each year and represents the current state of business activity far better than a city directory or any other source of information. A careful study of these lists resulted in the classification of the industries of the towns in the table to be given later. On March 7, 1908, a *fac simile* personal letter was sent to each industry in each town, and the information thus received will be found later in this article.

The following information was requested in the letters sent out: Capital invested, annual value of products, annual cost of raw materials, annual salary and wages budget, and number

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<sup>3</sup> *Mississippi, the Magnolia State*, p. 79.

of employees. It was attempted to get this information in historical form. Statistics are usually collected at stated intervals and only for the current year. This plan, though the most practicable, does not show small variations in the development of manufactures. It may be that one particular factory would show the same capitalization in 1900 and 1910, and yet during that interval might have been shut down for five years; or it may have doubled its capitalization by 1905, only to be shut down by 1910. This is especially possible in the South where manufacturing is comparatively new and fluctuations due to inexperience are consequently larger. The United States Census Bureau has published as *Bulletin 48* the manufacturing development of Mississippi from 1900 to 1905, and the attempt of this article is to consider information not obtainable from that report. Each factory in the several towns was, therefore, asked to give information for each year of fluctuation as far back as practicable. It was not expected that a very large percentage of replies would be obtained, or that a large percentage of these would be historical, but it was hoped that out of over four hundred letters sent out the historical replies would be representative of the State geographically and industrially. The author has another plan for distributing the blank form used, which he feels sure will bring in a larger number of historical replies, and intends to re-enter this field of investigation when a sufficient period has elapsed after the information to be obtained by the forthcoming census.

Throughout this article, for the sake of conciseness, the name of the product or of the process will be used sometimes to designate any particular industry, in spite of the fact that this is ungrammatical. The total number of letters written were 435. The number of replies received were 111. There were thus 25.5 per cent of replies. Thirty factories gave usable historical information, which was 27 per cent of the replies. These industries consisted of the following: Oil mills, ship building, bricks and tiles, chairs, compresses, mattresses, bottling, marble yards, spokes, lumber, bakeries, harness, vinegar, light and water power, furniture, foundries and laundries. These industries are evidently representative of the State. The towns concerned in the historical data are Brookhaven, Biloxi, Corinth, Green-

wood, Hattiesburg, Houston, Jackson, Laurel, New Albany, Oxford, Vicksburg, West Point, Winona and Yazoo City. These towns fairly represent the whole State. The statistics from the above enterprises may therefore be taken as a rough average of the State and its varied industries.

The number of factories reported out of business were fifteen, or 3.4 per cent. This means that between three and four per cent of the factories of the State went out of business during the year preceding March, 1908. Eight towns failed to make a report. These were Aberdeen, Ellisville, Friars Point, Grenada, Newton, Pascagoula, Sardis and Starkville.

There is now appended a list of the kinds of plants selected from the telephone lists: Lights, lumber, ice, bottling, bakeries, canning, metal works, milling, shipyards, concrete, laundries, machine shops, gas, naval stores, cold storage, railroad shops, oil mills, fertilizers, creosote works, dye works, traction, bricks and tiles, foundries, compresses, cotton mills, confectioneries, cooperages, cabinetmakers, staves, handles, tents and awnings, planing mills, mattresses, vinegar, seats, harness, engines and boilers, chairs, ties, furniture, pants, shingles, gins, sash, cigars, spring water, ice cream, wagons, marble yards, coffee and spice mills.

The following table gives the result of the classification of the industries on the basis solely of the telephone lists. It should first be stated that no towns are tabulated that have less than three plants. Population statistics are based on the twelfth census. The numbers in italics at the left of the table refer to the following towns: 1, Aberdeen; 2, Biloxi; 3, Brookhaven; 4, Como; 5, Corinth; 6, Clarksdale; 7, Holly Springs; 8, Canton; 9, Ellisville; 10, Friars Point; 11, Grenada; 12, Gulfport; 13, Greenwood; 14, Greenville; 15, Houston; 16, Hattiesburg; 17, Jackson; 18, Laurel; 19, Meridian; 20, Moss Point; 21, Pascagoula; 22, Natchez; 23, New Albany; 24, Newton; 25, Okolona; 26, Oxford; 27, Sardis; 28, Tupelo; 29, Vicksburg; 30, Water Valley; 31, Wesson; 32, West Point; 33, Winona; 34, Yazoo City; 35, Total. The numbers in italics at the top of the table refer to the following: 1, lumber; 2, ice; 3, bottling; 4, bakeries; 5, canning; 6, laundries; 7, gas; 8, oil mills; 9, fertilizers; 10, dyeing; 11, bricks; 12, foundries and shops;

13, compresses; 14, cotton mills; 15, planing mills; 16, furniture; 17, clothing and tents; 18, wagons and staves; 19, miscellaneous industries; 20, total industries; 21, per cent of replies to letters; 22, ratio of number of industries to 10,000 population.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1		I							2				I						2	6	0	1.7
2	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	11	25	13	4.5	
3	4	..	I	I	..	I	..	I	..	I	..							..2	11	31	4.1	
4	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	I	4	25	..	
5	..	I	I	..	..	I	..	I	..	I	I	I	I	..	I	..	..	2	10	40	2.7	
6	..	I	..	..	..	I	..	2	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	7	29	..	
7	..	I	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	8	..	2.8	
8	I	I	I	..	..	..	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	6	17	1.7	
9	2	I	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	6	0	..	
10	I	..	..	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	I	5	0	..
11	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	3	7	0	..
12	10	I	2	..	2	1	2	I	I	2	I	4	..	..	I	..	..	7	35	12	..	
13	..	I	..	..	..	..	I	..	I	..	I	2	..	I	..	I	..	I	3	10	37	..
14	I	I	..	..	I	I	6	..	..	I	2	..	..	I	..	I	..	5	18	24	2.3	
15	..	..	I	..	..	I	..	I	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	10	50	..	
16	6	I	5	2	..	2	I	..	..	..	5	I	..	..	I	..	I	5	31	16	..	
17	3	I	4	4	..	2	I	4	4	I	..	4	..	I	2	..	..	5	36	28	4.6	
18	4	I	2	I	..	I	..	I	I	..	I	4	I	I	I	..	I	3	22	35	..	
19	3	2	3	..	2	2	I	3	2	..	2	..	I	I	I	2	..	I	10	36	21	2.5
20	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	5	20	..	
21	I	..	2	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	4	0	..
22	I	I	..	2	..	2	..	3	..	2	..	2	I	..	..	..	..	4	18	11	1.4	
23	..	I	I	I	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	I	..	..	2	2	..	3	15	33	..
24	I	..	I	..	..	..	I	..	..	I	6	0	..									

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
25	...	...	...	...	...	...	I	...	...	I	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	I	3	33	...		
26	...	I	...	...	I	...	I	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	33	...		
27	I	...	...	...	...	I	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	I	3	0	...		
28	I	I	I	I	...	...	2	I	...	...	I	...	I	...	...	...	...	3	12	9	...		
29	3	I	I	...	...	I	3	...	I	...	3	3	...	2	...	...	4	22	13	1.5	...		
30	...	I	...	I	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	I	...	...	...	...	2	7	20	1.8	...		
31	I	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	I	...	I	...	...	...	...	I	3	50	...	...		
32	...	I	I	I	I	...	I	...	I	I	...	I	...	...	...	...	2	10	27	3.1	...		
33	...	I	I	...	I	...	I	...	...	2	...	I	...	...	...	...	I	8	33	...	...		
34	I	I	2	...	I	...	3	...	3	...	...	I	I	...	...	...	I	14	40	2.8	...		
35	53	25	31	18	6	21	8	47	9	41	16	32	23	6	8	12	4	7	101	436	...	...	

All industries in any directory were listed for the above table, whether in nearby towns or not. Where only one town showed a particular industry, that industry was classed as miscellaneous. Where only three industries of one kind are shown in the towns, they are also classed miscellaneous. Some plants are included which are not ordinarily considered manufacturing, but which produce commodities such as water or light for sale. It is proper here to note some comparisons upon the basis of the table:

The industries in the order of their number of plants in these towns are, lumber, oil mills, shops and foundries, bottling, ice, compresses, bakeries, bricks, furniture, fertilizers, planing mills, wagons, staves, cotton mills, canning, dyeing. The towns in the order of number of industries are: Meridian and Jackson, Gulfport, Hattiesburg, Biloxi, Vicksburg and Laurel, Natchez and Greenville, Yazoo City, Tupelo, Brookhaven, West Point and Houston and Corinth, Winona and Holly Springs, Clarksdale and Grenada and Water Valley, Newton and Ellisville and Aberdeen, Friars Point and Moss Point, Oxford and Pascagoula and Como, Okolona and Sardis and Wesson. Some of the more important towns, arranged in the order of the ratio of industries to population are: Jackson, Biloxi, Brookhaven, West Point, Holly Springs and Yazoo City, Corinth, Meridian,

Greenville, Water Valley, Canton and Aberdeen, Vicksburg, Natchez. The towns, arranged in the order of percentage of replies to letters sent out are: Houston and Wesson, Yazoo City and Corinth, Greenwood, Laurel, Winona and Oxford and Okolona and New Albany, Clarksdale, Jackson, West Point, Como, Greenville, Meridian, Water Valley, Canton, Hattiesburg, Biloxi, Gulfport, Natchez, Tupelo.

Twenty-two and five-tenths per cent of the plants in these towns utilized some of their by-products; 15.3 per cent failed to furnish historical information because they had started business during the past year; 13.5 per cent of those reporting had gone out of business.

The following series of five tables gives the historical information based on replies to the letters mailed:

*Per Cent Increase in Capital Invested from Year Given to 1908:*

1882	1898	1904	1905	1906	1907
280	300	236	147	69	3.6

*Per Cent Increase from Year Given to Year Following:*

1904	1905	1906	1907	Average
32.2	31.3	61.9	3.6	32.25

Some reports were incomplete and could only be used as far as they gave data. The same industries are not therefore always included in each of the calculations. The effect of the recent panic is seen in the reduction of the increase in capitalization to 3.6 per cent from 1907 to 1908. In the data of these tables there is shown decreases as well as increases, so that the results may be concluded to be a tolerably fair average.

*Per Cent Increase in Yearly Value of Products from Year Given to 1908:*

1882	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
102.3	107.3	260.1	306.1	60	25.9

*Per Cent Increase from Year Given to Year Following:*

1904	1905	1906	1907	Average
44	42	51	25.9	40.7

One plant reported an increase of 2,400 per cent from 1898 to 1908; another, an increase of 400 per cent from 1900 to 1908. The same years are not reported for the several tables because

in some particular years the number of plants reporting was not sufficient to be representative. In the above table it is noticed that the lessening of increase in products due to the recent panic appears not so great as the lessening in capitalization. The only reports that were at all full were in reference to capitalization and value of products. The other items will be reported below for what they might be worth, the number of plants reporting being given where advisable. They are not of much value except as individual reports.

*Per Cent Increase in Total Number of Employees from Year Given to 1908:*

1904	1905	1906	1907
78.5	75.3	44.6	17.1

*Per Cent Increase from Year Given to Year Following:*

1904	1905	1906	1907	Average
23.8	25.5	24.8	17.1	22.8

One plant increased 300 per cent in employees from 1900 to 1902; one 33.3 per cent from 1882, and three 27.7 per cent from 1903 to 1908. The above table seems to indicate that number of employees is not so sensitive to depressed conditions as capitalization.

*Per Cent Increase in Annual Sum Paid in Wages and Salaries from Year Given to 1908:*

1904	1905	1906	1907
60.1	36.2	30.7	20.1

*Per Cent Increase from Year Given to Year Following:*

1905	1906	1907	Average
19.3	13.5	20.1	17.9

One plant increased 77.1 per cent from 1882, one 80 from 1898, and four 7.9 from 1903 to 1908. Three plants showed increase of only 8.7 per cent from 1904 to 1905.

*Per Cent Increase in Annual Cost of Raw Materials from Year Given to 1908:*

Year.....	1882	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
Per cent.....	113.3	23.9	52.8	169.1	39.0	20.5
Number of plants...	1	2	2	6	5	10

*Per Cent Increase from Year Given to Year Following:*

Year.....	1904	1905	1906	1907
Per cent.....	52.8	290.6	1.2	20.5
Number of plants.....	2	3	5	10

We shall now consider the subject of the general manufacturing progress of Mississippi. Twenty years ago the writer attended school in a section of the Carolinas similarly situated in latitude, worn-out lands and poor living conditions as compared with many sections of this State. Then the manufacturing situation there, especially as regards cotton mills, was about as it is found to be to-day in Mississippi. A few years ago he visited the old scenes and noticed in traveling over the country by railroad that he was hardly ever out of sight of the smoke stack of a factory. It is the history of most countries that manufacturing only commences on a large scale after the lands have ceased to produce abundantly and thus ceased to offer the most fertile field for investment. In many parts of our State this condition has been realized, and evidently the time is now ripe for rapid progress in the development of the factory. Indeed, the statistics already given and those to be considered indicate that we have moved forward remarkably well, and are entering upon a stage of still more remarkable progress.

In this connection let us consider briefly the history of cotton manufacturing in this State.<sup>4</sup> The industry began here about sixty-five years ago. In 1840 there were fifty-three enterprises, with only 318 spindles and eighty-one employees, making only the coarsest cloth. Strange to say, there was a decrease in the industry even before the war, and, of course, during and after that struggle. The rise began in 1870, and 1880 showed appreciable growth. There were then eight mills, with capital of \$1,122,140, utilizing 18,568 spindles. The next decade showed marked growth in the Carolinas, but only one new mill in Mississippi. The size of plants, however, increased to 57,000 spindles. In 1900 the number of mills decreased from nine to six, but spindles increased to 75,122 and capital to \$2,209,749. Since that date eight new mills have been erected. We now have in the State fourteen mills, 132,696 spindles, 4,273 looms, and an invested capital of nearly three million. The largest mill, at Wesson, has 21,000 spindles, and the smallest 4,000. Most of the mills have from 5,000 to 10,000 spindles. Their financial condition, until the recent panic, was very good, and they are expected to recover rapidly. The climate seems

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<sup>4</sup> *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register*, 1904, p. 95.

suitable in the hills, so that the increase should continue. A plentiful supply of labor could be trained. Only \$100,000 is needed for a mill of 5,000 spindles and 150 looms, and the ordinary Mississippi town can easily raise this. The textile department at the A. and M. College will stimulate this industry.

As an illustration of the rapid progress of South Mississippi in recent years, it is fitting here to give an epitome of Gulfport's remarkable growth: The population in 1900 was 1,060; in 1907, 14,000.<sup>5</sup> There is now twenty-four feet of water in a harbor of eighty acres. The storm of September 26, 1906, did no damage to the pier 5,505 feet long. There are electric cars to Biloxi and other places. The following is the valuation of the various recently erected buildings, industries and other improvements: Hotel, \$350,000; power house, \$200,000; central school, \$60,000; water plant, \$50,000; granitoid walks, \$100,000; oil mill and fertilizer plant, \$500,000; creosote works, \$100,000; gas plant, \$75,000; total assessed property eight years ago, \$14,000; now, \$5,000,000; gum carbo works, \$1,000,000. The custom house receipts for the years appended were \$5,593 for 1903, \$14,470 for 1904, \$15,870 for 1905, and \$18,871 for 1906. Here is the capital invested in three industries for the years given:

	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Chandlery.....	\$200	\$28,000	\$115,000	\$210,000	\$315,000
Furniture.....	15,000	32,043	47,312	61,594	101,500
Naval stores.....	.....	.....	560,000	1,150,000	1,750,000

Lumber shipped from the county and from Gulfport in million feet is:

Year.....	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Harrison County....	87	130	163	132	144	181
Gulfport.....	....	....	....	....	....	....

Year.....	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Harrison County....	195	161	217	302	264	335
Gulfport.....	....	19	106	246	208	293

While Mississippi is not as favorably situated for manufacturing as most of her sister States, yet there are many lines for which she has the raw materials and in which she might, and we trust will, excel. Her lignite will find a ready market when the gas producer and engine more fully replaces steam; for this method

<sup>5</sup>*Facts About Gulfport, 1907.*

of getting power is more economical and this form of coal has been shown by the United States Coal Testing Plant in St. Louis to be the most efficient for the gas producer. The chances are that some day petroleum will be pumped from beneath her soil. The Alabama coal fields approach closer to this State with each survey. The waters of this State are well adapted for bleaching and other industrial purposes. The acid and fertilizer industry must continually grow. There is no reason why the soda industries should not find a good location eventually within the State. With her wealth of raw materials in the form of timber,<sup>6</sup> the State will rapidly develop in all kinds of wood working plants, especially high grade furniture, having fifty varieties of commercial timber. She already has two and one-half million dollars invested in turpentine stills, with annual output of over one million. The total acreage in timber is 1,600,000, equal to 6,400,000,000 feet, with a value of \$96,000,000. Lime, glass, cement, sand-lime brick, vitrified brick and pottery products will be produced in increasing quantities. The first two were produced in ante-bellum days. Similarly situated to New Jersey, with large cities on her borders, Mississippi will one day progress in the ceramic industries as that State has done. Paint pigments of various grades may yet be found. Wood distillation and charcoal production are already important industries, being modernized. Illuminating gas and alcohol can, and should be, made from the State's waste agricultural products. The cotton oil industry will progress until her crude oil will be converted into refined products, such as soap, cooking oil, and salad oil, within her borders. Many essential oils could be extracted from the plants growing wild everywhere. Sugar, starch, dextrine, glue, glucose, and certain resins and gums are possible products here for the future. Many fermentation industries, such as vinegar and alcohol, will grow to great dimensions. Other fibers may be produced besides cotton. Paper may be made from corn and cotton stalks and from wood. Tanning should once more become a flourishing industry here. Besides the above forms of manufacture, based upon local raw materials, the advent of increased population will bring many factories not specially indigenous to

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<sup>6</sup> *Mississippi, the Magnolia State*, p. 79.

our soil; for in spite of railroad transportation the local factory has a considerable advantage in trade. We may look, therefore, for a great development in manufacturing in the State both in quantity and variety, as our people become more numerous, more experienced, and better trained.

We shall also give a brief statement of the South's post-bellum progress, in which Mississippi has shared.<sup>7</sup> Prior to the war, the South was abreast of the times. In 1860 it had thirty per cent of the banking capital, Louisiana being the fourth State in the Union. Progress since the war has been mainly due to Southern men and money. Let us compare the South in 1906 with the rest of the country in 1880: Cotton mills are twenty-five to thirty-three, but we have more capital invested; our consumption of cotton is about double. The production of bituminous coal is more than double. There are three times as much coke produced, and more petroleum. There are 450 millions more in value of farm products, and 106 millions more in lumber output. Our value of exports is greater. The following table gives the value of output in the South in million dollars for the years noted, a "T" referring to thousand dollars:

	1880	1890	1905
Phosphates.....	211T	510T	2
Cotton cloth.....	21	60	225
Iron.....	397T	3	3
Petroleum.....	179T	499T	42
Manufactures in general.....	257	659	1500
Farm products.....	660	773	1750

As an encouragement to Mississippians let us consider the wonderful development of furniture manufacturing in North Carolina,<sup>8</sup> stimulated by hard timber resources, such as we have

<sup>8</sup>*Baltimore Manufacturers' Record*, Sept. 27, 1906, p. 251.  
in this State, developed under the leadership of High Point, which was changed by this industry in twenty years from a small town to the leading furniture center of the South:

	1900	1905
Number of plants.....	44	105
Capital invested.....	\$1,023,374	\$4,621,994

<sup>7</sup>*Baltimore Manufacturers' Record*, Feb. 15, 1906, p. 116.

It is appropriate now to compare Mississippi with other States on various points that affect manufacturing development indirectly, so that future progress may more accurately be judged. In the matter of patents applied for in 1903, South Carolina<sup>9</sup> shows one to 17,635 inhabitants; Virginia, one to 8,829; Mississippi, one to 22,161, and Massachusetts one to 1,348. This is a poor showing for the State; in fact, the poorest of all the States. With the development of technical education, our inventive genius will be stimulated. As regards education, the State stands comparatively well. The following statement<sup>10</sup> of the number of illiterates per 10,000 inhabitants will bear on this point: Ohio, 21.5; Illinois, 23.7; Missouri, 37.6; Kentucky, 121.9; Arkansas, 88.4; Mississippi, 67.6; Colorado, 29.7; and California, 1,106. The future of manufacturing depends most intimately upon increase of population. The statements below<sup>11</sup> will be of interest in this regard: "In the decade from 1890 to 1900 for the first time in our national history the Southern States increased more rapidly in population than the Northern. In the last twenty-five years there was a relatively uniform growth over the whole South, differing markedly from the lower rate of rural and higher rate of urban growth in the North." In table 10 of the Census Bulletin No. 4, the States are ranked according to increase in per cent of increase of population of 1890-1900 as compared with 1880-1890. Mississippi leads all, giving 15.9 per cent increase; Louisiana is next, with 6.3 per cent; South Carolina and new Hampshire are last, with .8 per cent. This is indeed a fine showing and gives encouragement for future manufacturing. The presence of the negro is perhaps after all the greatest deterrent to progress. The Census Bureau<sup>12</sup> shows that this State leads in negro population, with 58.5 per cent. South Carolina and Louisiana follow close, as is well known. But Mississippi vies with Alabama in showing the smallest per cent of mulattoes in negro population (11.5 and 11.4), and the decrease in illiteracy for this race has been about the same in

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec. 29, 1904, p. 573.

<sup>10</sup>Census Bureau *Bulletin*, No. 26.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, No. 4.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, No. 11.

these two States and in Louisiana (11.7, 11.7 and 11). This indicates that our State stands abreast of the times in the education and moral advancement of the negro, and will not be too seriously handicapped industrially in the future by the presence of large masses of ignorant and unreliable laborers.

In 1905 the Census Bureau reported the progress in manufacturing in the several States for the last five years.<sup>13</sup> It is proper here to append a few salient facts as regards Mississippi. The nine leading industries in the State for that year were canning, railroad shops, cotton goods, fertilizers, machine shops, planing mills, oil mills, turpentine and lumber. Their capital increased 122.9 per cent in this period. The number of establishments increased 13.5 per cent. Value of products increased 69.9 per cent. This shows fine progress. Meridian was the chief manufacturing city as compared with Natchez and Vicksburg. The former showed a decrease in manufactures and the latter an increase of 26.2 per cent in the number of establishments. Let us now compare the per cent of increase during this period for Mississippi as a whole, with several other States:

	Capital.	Number of Establishments.	Value of Products.
Texas.....	81.7	1.6	62.0
Kentucky.....	67.4	2.4	26.3
Louisiana.....	49.5	14.5	67.3
Tennessee.....	62.2	1.9	48.7
Iowa.....	30.1	0.9	20.8
Alabama.....	75.2	5.9	51.4
United States.....	41.3	4.2	29.7
Mississippi.....	121.3	17.5	70.4

Thus our State is ahead of all these other commonwealths and ahead of the country as a whole in the increase in manufacturing during the last five-year census period. This is a showing that should be a matter of pride to every citizen of the State and is an earnest of yet greater achievements.

The immense drain on the manhood of the State by emigration has been referred to. The writer has collected statistics from the reports of the twelfth census (1900), which will give a more realistic picture of the loss in this particular. Where natives of Mississippi living in any one State were given as a part of a group of States, the number from Mississippi was esti-

<sup>13</sup>Census Bureau *Bulletins*, No. 48, No. 47, No. 32, No. 43, No. 57.

mated by dividing by the number of States in such group. This number was small and could not effect much the accuracy of the statistics. It is found that the native born Mississippians residing in other States are: North Atlantic States, 3,055; South Atlantic, 6,068; North Central, 19,092; Western, 6,416; Kentucky, 2,248; Tennessee, 35,357; Alabama, 20,256; Louisiana, 45,460; Texas, 90,584; Oklahoma, 14,094; Arkansas, 54,986. This gives a total of 297,616 Mississippians residing in other parts of the United States. Now the census shows 215,291 residents of Mississippi who were born in other States. The difference between these two figures of gross loss and gross gain leaves a result of 82,315 net loss of inhabitants by emigration as contrasted with immigration in 1900. Presuming that this census is the average of the two past and the two to come, the State of Mississippi will show a net loss of 411,575 inhabitants, or nearly half a million, by emigration from 1870 to 1920. If this tide can be stemmed, as the introduction to this article indicates, future progress will be assured.

The natural increase of population must be looked to in overcoming the loss by emigration, and this is best studied in the ratio of children to population.<sup>14</sup> This has declined generally since 1860, but the decline has been less marked in the South than in the North or West. Mississippi now shows 614 children per 1,000 females, a higher figure than for any other of the East South Central States. The following comparison of the South and North as to white children per 1,000 females will be interesting: North Atlantic States, 393; North Central, 460; Western, 438; South Atlantic, 545; and South Central, 608. Thus the conclusion is reached that the Southern whites are the most prolific of any white people in the country, and hope is strengthened for the future growth of our Southern population. Indeed, Mississippi will probably be compelled to depend on its own natural increase for future population more than any other State in the Union. With the exception of Tennessee it has the smallest foreign population of any of the commonwealths, with little or no coast line. The percentages given below<sup>15</sup> will furnish the facts in this regard: North Carolina, 1 per cent,

<sup>14</sup>Census Bureau *Bulletin*, No. 22.

<sup>15</sup>Twelfth Census, 1900, Vol. I, p. CLXXXV.

shows the least foreign born population. Then follow South Carolina and Georgia, 3.1 per cent; Tennessee has 3.8 per cent; Mississippi, 4.2; Alabama, 4.4; Arkansas, 5; Texas, 19.2; Louisiana, 21.9. Among those with high per cents are Utah, 61.8; and Massachusetts, 62.7. Rhode Island has the highest proportion of foreign born, 65.4 per cent. Now the other Southern States mentioned are either natural manufacturing communities, or are situated favorably for immigration, or are receiving a considerable influx of Northern people. The conclusion seems, therefore, justified that Mississippi cannot hope to depend much on outsiders, yet, with the large natural increase of population already noted, the State has a bright future in the productiveness and energy of her pure Anglo-Saxon manhood.

Finally, as regards statistics of manufacturing progress, let us consider the records of charters granted to corporations by the Secretary of State of Mississippi. The office at Jackson has no record of individual charters previous to 1896. We need not consider the facts farther back than 1901 more than to state that 284 charters were obtained during the biennium 1898–1899, and an average of 353 per biennium from 1892 to 1896. This shows the amount of activity in those days. Now, from October, 1901, to October, 1903, the charters granted were 737; from the same month, 1903, to October, 1905, 1,049; and from October, 1905, to October, 1907, 1,027. This verifies both the rapid rate of progress during 1904 and the effect of the panic of 1907. The following table indicates the industrial corporations chartered during these three bienniums:

	1901–03	1903–05	1905–07
Oil mills.....	43	24	9
Lumber.....	81	69	96
Confectioneries.....	2	1	2
Chemicals, etc.....	7	3	1
Turpentine and naval stores.....	8	7	3
Furniture.....	8	29	14
Foundries and shops.....	4	10	4
Telephones.....	8	10	6
Canning.....	1	6	8
Drugs.....	20	31	29
Ice.....	12	8	12
Bricks.....	13	21	9
Fertilizers.....	5	5	3
Textile mills.....	6	9	3
Gas.....	1	1	5
Bottling.....	1	5	11
Wagons, staves, etc.....	..	10	9
Miscellaneous.....	8	28	29
Total.....	229	277	252

The following decreased in number of charters obtained during these six years: Oil mills, chemicals, turpentine and naval stores. The following increased, even at least holding their own, during the year of depression: Canning, gas, and bottling. The rest fluctuated more or less. Total industrial charters also decreased during the period of depression, though slightly.

The important conclusions of this investigation are:

1. Since the State has four outside cities close by, drawing upon her resources, it is essential that a great manufacturing community be developed as a "counter-irritant" near the center of the State.

2. While the loss of population through excess of emigration over immigration is large, the rapid growth of the white population will probably be sufficient to overcome this drawback, for the State leads the Union in rapidity of growth of population.

3. The wanton waste of raw materials in soil and timber must be stopped for the sake of future industrial progress.

4. The thirty-seven towns and their industries as investigated showed gratifying progress. This is especially true of Gulfport and of cotton manufacturing.

5. There are many lines of manufacturing in which even an agricultural State like Mississippi might excel.

6. The South in 1906 was greater industrially than the whole country in 1860.

7. While the State has not shown inventive genius, it compares favorably with other Southern States in its small percentage of illiterates, and stands to the forefront in the education of both whites and negroes.

8. During the period 1900-1905, the State showed a superior rate of growth in manufacturing as compared with the country in general, and as compared with several important Northern and Southern States.

## HISTORY OF THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI.

BY W. H. PATTON.<sup>1</sup>

WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

The W. C. T. U. has been a great factor in moulding sentiment, securing temperance legislation and in carrying local option elections in Mississippi.

In 1881 Miss Frances E. Willard, the greatly beloved president of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, left the first Woman's Christian Temperance Union footprint made on Mississippi soil. Miss Willard was then on that grand pilgrimage—the most heroic ever attempted—to every town in the United States numbering ten thousand inhabitants. People were indifferent, prejudiced against having a woman speak from the platform. It was in Jackson that she made her first effort to plant a union in the State, but nothing came of it to human vision.

Miss Willard, accompanied by her secretary, Miss Anna Gordon, spent the month of January, 1882, in Mississippi, but it rained during the entire month. Miss Gordon said: "Their work

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<sup>1</sup>William Hinkle Patton, the eldest son of James J. and Sarah A. (Hinkle) Patton, was born September 7, 1847, near Jacinto, Tishomingo County, Mississippi. In 1859 his father settled on a farm in Clarke County, Mississippi, and three years later died of typhoid pneumonia, contracted in the service of the Confederate States. This left the cares of a family upon the eldest son, then only fifteen years of age.

In the last year of the War of Secession, Mr. W. H. Patton had charge of a telegraph office at Shubuta, Miss. He then became local agent of the Adams Express Company at that place, which position he held six years. In the meantime he had sustained a loss in the destruction by fire of a small mercantile business which he had opened with the hope of supplementing his salary in order to provide for the support of his father's family. In 1870 he married a daughter of Rev. T. B. Heslep, of Shubuta, and re-entered the mercantile business, forming a co-partnership with his father-in-law. On the death of Mr. Heslep, two years later, Mr. Patton continued the business in his own name. After the death of his first wife in 1872, Mr. Patton married her sister, who also died in 1883. He was then married to Mrs. Regina C. Joyner (formerly Miss Spann). Mr. Patton has been very successful in business and has large interests in Mississippi and elsewhere.

He has devoted much time and attention to furthering the prohibition interests of the State since 1875. Because of his activity as a prohibition-

ought to grow and the seed to sprout, for it was literally sown under water." They came at the invitation of Judge J. W. C. Watson, of Holly Springs, who paid their traveling expenses and provided entertainment. He made engagements for Miss Willard in his own circuit court district, at Holly Springs, Grenada, Oxford, Water Valley, etc. He took them to the capitol, where Miss Willard spoke before the legislature, Rev. C. K. Marshall presiding. Col. W. M. Inge, of Corinth, was speaker of the house that winter, and through him and his wife, they were invited to Corinth.

On January 19, 1882, Miss Willard made an address at Oxford, where sixteen ladies gave their names to form a W. C. T. U., and the number was soon increased to thirty-six. Mrs. A. P. Stewart wife of the Confederate general and Chancellor of the State University, was elected president of the local union. She was also virtually State president, for this was the only union in Mississippi until November 28, 1883. At that date Misses Willard and Gordon went to Corinth to organize a State W. C. T. U., which was formally done with Mrs. F. E. Steele, of Corinth, president.

The next morning Miss Willard made another address, and the Corinth local union was formed with Mrs. T. Wilson as president. An organizer was sent out and partly formed several

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ist, a desperate but unsuccessful effort was made to assassinate him at Shubuta in 1883. The year following he led a campaign which secured from the legislature of Mississippi the passage of a statutory prohibition act for his county. Since that time he has successfully canvassed that county twice in the interest of prohibition and has assisted in this work in other counties. He has attended all the State prohibition conventions that have been held in Mississippi; has been a member of the State Prohibition Executive Committee since its organization, and one of the vice-presidents of the National Temperance Society.

He is also interested in church work, having been for a number of years a deacon in his local Baptist church and usually a delegate to the annual meetings of the Mississippi Baptist State Convention. He has also served several terms of three years each as a trustee of Mississippi College at Clinton, Miss., and as trustee in several other institutions of learning. He is a zealous Sunday-school worker, and has served as one of the vice-presidents of the State Sunday-school Convention and as a delegate to the National Sunday-school Convention. He has taken much interest in politics, but has never offered himself for any office except that of Alderman of his town. In State issues he votes the Democratic and in national the Prohibition ticket. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and of the Knights of Honor. A more detailed sketch of his life will be found in Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, Vol. II, pp. 560-563.—EDITOR.

unions, but they soon fell through for lack of help and information. In the summer of 1884 Col. Inge and the writer of this paper arranged by correspondence or putting a worker on the field. They decided on Mrs. Mary E. Ervin, of Columbus, and Miss Willard being informed of this choice, appointed her to represent Mississippi in the national W. C. T. U. convention at St. Louis. She had less than a week's notice, but attended the meeting.

A State convention had been called to meet at Winona, Miss., two days after the national convention. Owing to the illness of her private secretary, Miss Willard failed to meet her appointment, but sent Mrs. C. B. Buell, national corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Sallie F. Chapin, superintendent of Southern work. A local union which had been formed at Columbus, elected Mrs. M. E. Ervin to represent it at Winona. Lifted skyward on the afflatus of the great St. Louis meeting, these three sisters entered Winona. Doors were all open for delegates. Speakers were ready, but where was the convention? W. H. Patton, of Shubuta, had sent his pastor, Rev. L. E. Hall, and Mrs. Ervin represented the whole State! Even the president, Mrs. Steele, was absent, detained by sickness in her home. There was a rousing time anyhow; for Mrs. Chapin's tragic eloquence and Mrs. Buell's sledge hammer logic brought out crowded houses and applied power at their end of the lever which raised Mississippi into the range of vision.

Mrs. M. L. Wells, of Tennessee, came to this State, and the ladies undertook to conduct her campaign; but they unfortunately sent her in the dead of winter to the northern part of the State and had her dates confused. She spent several days at the hotels on expense. They appealed to the writer to take her in charge, which he did, bringing her to the southern part of the State, where she spent six weeks in pioneer service, organizing many unions that are still active. Governor St. John also visited the eastern and southeastern part of the State in 1884; he was heartily welcomed and the prohibition banners he set up then have never been furled, nor will they be until they have signalled the destruction of the liquor traffic from the dome of the State capitol.

When Mrs. Wells organized a union at Shubuta, Mrs. W. H.

Patton was elected president and became one of the staunchest prohibitionists in the country. She was afterwards State superintendent of temperance literature and unfermented wine.

In September, 1885, the State held its first delegated convention at Meridian. Nineteen local unions had paid State dues that year, and seventeen were represented in the meeting. Owing to ill health Mrs. Steele resigned the State presidency after the annual meeting at Winona. Mrs. M. E. Ervin, having already discharged the duties of the office, at the request of Mrs. Steele, was elected to that position at the Meridian meeting. The writer attended the conventions during his wife's life and once afterwards, and is an honorary life member and his wife a memorial member of the union. Mrs. Ervin resigned at Natchez in 1888, and Mrs. Lavenia S. Mount was elected president. Mrs. Chattie Beall, of West Point, and Mrs. M. J. Quinche, have served as State vice-presidents. Mrs. Mary B. Curlee, of Corinth, and Mrs. H. B. Kells have served since.

The W. C. T. U. has brought into this State, Mrs. Caroline Buell, Mrs. S. F. Chapin, Mrs. Clara C. Hoffman, Mrs. J. K. Barney, Mrs. Mary T. Lathrop, Mrs. Mary Reade Goodale, Mrs. M. L. Wells, and Mrs. Zerelda Wallace, as workers, the last of whom gave a month's work to Mississippi. Rev. J. B. Gambell was opposed to women speaking in public, even on temperance, but when he heard Mrs. Wells he was converted.

The chief legal measures which the W. C. T. U. has influenced have been the removing of liquor revenue from the public education fund; the raising of the age of consent from ten years to the protection of a woman of any age. The measure which has most universally received the support of the W. C. T. U. is scientific temperance instruction for the public schools. This department was adopted in 1885, and Mrs. H. B. Kells appointed superintendent. A bill was introduced into the legislature of 1886, which received sufficient support to be appended to an amendment of the educational laws, but it was lost in engrossment. The legislature of 1888 passed another law by a unanimous vote in the senate and an overwhelming majority in the house. This bill was vetoed by Governor Robert Lowrey, on the ground that the teachers were not educated sufficiently to teach physiology.

with reference to the effects of alcohol on the human system, and because the books would cost too much. In 1890 another bill was lost by a majority of two, owing to the fact that many members of the house were at home on account of la grippe. A bill was overwhelmingly passed and signed by Governor Stone in 1892, which made the teaching of scientific temperance instruction with reference to alcohol and narcotics as mandatory as any other study in the public school curriculum.

The *White Ribbon*, edited by Mrs. H. B. Kells, did much to mold sentiment and hasten State-wide prohibition. Rev. Henry Ware, late of Pass Christian, Miss., was a great friend of the W. C. T. U., and was also a party prohibitionist.

#### LEGISLATIVE ACTS.

Among the various legislative acts relating to the sale of intoxicants in Mississippi, the following are significant:

*Act of 1822.*—The county courts, now known as boards of supervisors, were authorized to grant licenses to tavern keepers in their respective counties to sell intoxicants in the manner prescribed by law, subject to the following restrictions: No person should be licensed to keep an inn or tavern, but such as were recommended for that purpose, by at least six respectable free-holders or housekeepers, who should certify that the person recommended was of good repute for honesty and temperance; the venders of liquors were required to give a bond of five hundred dollars, pay a tax of not less than fifteen nor more than forty dollars. They were forbidden to sell liquor to apprentices or servants; and were not permitted to collect by law any liquor debts of over five dollars.

*Act of 1839.*—This act modified the law as follows:

"All laws heretofore enacted in relation to tippling houses, and authorizing the keepers of inns, taverns, or ordinaries, to sell vinous or spirituous liquors in less quantities than a quart, or obtaining license therefor, are hereby repealed."

"It shall not be lawful for any person to sell or retail any vinous or spirituous liquors in less quantities than one gallon, nor suffer the same, or any part thereof, to be drunk or used in or about his or her place."

"Penalty for so doing, first offense \$250 fine and one week's imprisonment, and for every other offense \$500.00 and not less than one month's imprisonment."

This act also made it unlawful to sell to Indians or negroes, either slave or free, in any quantity whatsoever.

*Act of 1842.*—This law permitted any licensed “inn keeper or tavern keeper, or the keeper of any restaurant, or petit grocery, being a free white person,” to retail intoxicants in any quantity. In cities or towns of two thousand or more inhabitants the license charge was not more than one thousand dollars nor less than two hundred dollars. Vicksburg and Yazoo City were permitted to retain all moneys obtained from licenses, fines and forfeitures for the erection and endowment of public hospitals for the use of their sick and indigent, and Natchez was given a similar privilege for the support of the Natchez Hospital, provided in the first and last named cities the licenses should not be less than two hundred and fifty dollars for a period of twelve months. Boards of police were authorized to grant licenses to any free white person, not within an incorporated town or city having a population of two thousand or more inhabitants, at a charge of not more than one thousand dollars nor less than fifty dollars; one-half of which went to the State and one-half to the county. The penalty for selling without license was five hundred dollars and imprisonment in the county jail for thirty days. The same penalty was imposed for selling liquor to a slave, and if it was proven that the person to whom the liquor was sold was a negro or mulatto, that fact was *prima facie* evidence of his or her being a slave. Licenses were revocable for allowing gaming.

*Act of 1848.*—This law made it the duty of every justice of the peace when any violation of any of the acts was made known to him to bind the offender over to the circuit court. It also prohibited the sale of liquor within five miles of the State University.

*Act of 1870.*—The legislature of 1870 forbade the sale of liquors in Greensboro, Choctaw county.

*Acts of 1871.*—The sale of liquors was prohibited by the legislature of 1871 in Black Hawk, Carroll county; Clinton, Hinds county; Bankston, Choctaw county; Starkville, Oktibbeha county; Sparta, Chickasaw county; Pittsboro, Calhoun county; and Hernando, DeSoto county. There never was a saloon in Starkville, Miss.

*Acts of 1872.*—The sale of liquor was prohibited by law in Ellistown, Union county, and Bethlehem, Benton county, or within two miles of these places and in Arkabutta, DeSoto county, or within three miles thereof. In the same year the sale of intoxicants in less quantities than twenty gallons was prohibited within five miles of the corporate limits of Greenwood, Leflore county. Another act was passed to prohibit the sale of liquor in Thomastown, Leake county; Iuka, Tishomingo county; and Greensboro, Choctaw county, or within five miles of any of them; within two miles of Colfax Institute at Spring Valley, Choctaw county, and in supervisors districts Nos. 2 and 5, Leake county; also within three miles of the Tougaloo University, Madison county.

*Act of 1874.*—The legislature granted the right to women to petition and protest against the sale of liquors.

*Acts of 1875* were passed to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors at Lodi, Montgomery county; Claiborne, Jasper county; to amend an act entitled an act to prohibit the sale of vinous, spirituous and malt liquors within China Grove Church, Pike county; Raleigh, Smith county; within beat three of the fifth supervisors district, Tate county, and Macon, Miss. About that time a would-be saloon keeper failed to get a license as a result of the act of 1874, and he put up a drug store and hired a physician with no conscience to write prescriptions. The writer was informed in the early 80's that the repeal of the law requiring the signatures of a majority of men and women in a community to a petition for licenses was affected by a thorough anti-prohibition organization. A saloonist said that his side had a State executive committee which assessed each saloon in order to raise a campaign fund to oppose diverse legislation. As an illustration, the repeal of the law referred to above cost the saloonists of the small town of Shubuta with about six hundred inhabitants, the sum of \$450. Similar assessments were made throughout the state.

*Acts of 1876.*—The act of 1874, granting to women the right to petition and protest against the sale of intoxicants, was repealed. In this year the legislature also repealed the act prohibiting sale at Lodi, Montgomery county; in beat two, Leake

county; within five miles of Kosciusco, Attala county; within five miles of Louisville, Winston county; in Paulding, Jasper county; within three miles of Rankin Masonic Institute, Rankin county; in Macon, Noxubee county; in Coffeeville, Yalobusha county; in the town and within five miles of the corporate limits of Fulton, Itawamba county; in supervisors districts, numbers two and five, Leake county; in Brooksville, Noxubee county; in Starkville, Oktibbeha county; in Lodi, Montgomery county; in Liberty, Amite county; in McNeill, Leflore county; and in district number two, Leake county.

Laws were also passed prohibiting the sale of liquors in Pittsboro, Calhoun county; in beat four, Smith county; in Chester, Choctaw county; in Hickory Flat, Benton county; at Zion Hill Church, Smith county; in Cumberland, Sumner county, and within five miles of said place; within three miles of Atlanta, Chickasaw county; within two miles of Independence, Tate county; and in Williamsburg, Covington county, or within five miles of said town.

*Acts of 1877.*—The legislature in that year prohibited the sale of liquor at Cato, Rankin county, and within three miles of said town; within three miles of Arkabutta, DeSoto county; Ellistown, Union county, and within two miles of said town. An act was also passed to prohibit the sale of vinous and spirituous liquors in less quantities than twenty gallons within five miles of the corporate limits of Greenwood, Leflore county; in Thomasville and within five miles of its corporate limits in Leake county.

*Acts of 1878.*—In that year an act was passed to regulate and prohibit the sale of liquors within five miles of the University of Mississippi and to repeal existing laws; also to prohibit the sale of liquors in the town of Ashey, Benton county; in Mt. Carmel, Covington county; at Hebron Church, Lawrence county; in Cholohoma and Mount Pleasant, Marshall county; in the town of Iuka, Tishomingo county; within three miles of Walthall, Sumner county; within two miles of Beth Eden College, Winston county.

In the same year the legislature repealed the existing laws prohibiting the sale of liquors in Hernando, Paulding, and Westville.

*Acts of 1880.*—Drug stores were permitted to obtain licenses in

the same manner and to sell vinous or spirituous liquors on such terms as other dealers. Licenses for selling vinous or spirituous liquors, or mixtures of which vinous or spirituous liquors is the principal ingredient, in a less quantity than five gallons and not less than one pint were made to cost \$100.00; for any quantity not less than one gallon or in greater quantities \$150.00; and for beer or other malt liquors \$50.00. All places for retailing intoxicating liquors, by the drink, in the several counties of the state, were to be closed, and no intoxicating liquors permitted to be sold, bartered, or given away, or drunk, at any place on the day of any special or general election.

The sale of liquor in Austin, Tunica County, was prohibited; also the sale of liquors within five miles of the A. & M. College located at Starkville. The prohibition area was also extended as follows: Center Point Church and School House, Noxubee county; within five miles of Hopewell Church, Covington county; within five miles of Blue's stores, Calhoun county; within two miles of the public square of Sarepta, Calhoun county; in the entire county of Lawrence; in Benton, Yazoo county; in Smithville, Monroe county; in supervisors district number 5 of Clarke county; within two miles of Toomsuba Academy, Lauderdale county; at Lafayette Springs, Lafayette county; in Decatur, Newton county; in Austin, Tunica county; in Meadville, Franklin county; in Dry Grove, Hinds county; in Webster, Winston county; within two miles of Whitefield, Oktibbeha county; within four miles of Stonewall Church and within five miles of Rial's Creek, Simpson county; within seven miles of Concord, and Pleasant Hill Churches, Simpson county; and within two miles of Gray's Institute.

It is worthy of note that Lawrence county was the first in the State to pass into the "dry" column.

The following prohibition acts of former legislatures were repealed: Within three miles of Buena Vista, Chickasaw county; within five miles of Newport in Attala county; in Chester, Choctaw county, and in Mount Pleasant, Marshall county.

*Acts of 1882.*—Prohibition was extended in 1882 to include Sallis or within four miles of said town; the county of Covington; Ashland, Benton county; within four miles of Lake Como, Jasper

county; within five miles of Fulton, Ittawamba county; in the vicinity of Daughtrey's store, district number two, Oktibbeha county; within two miles of Marietta, Prentiss county; the town of Verona, Lee county, or within two miles thereof; within four miles of Cherry Creek Male and Female Academy; within three miles of Philadelphia, Webster county; within three miles of Knight's Mills, Jones county; within five miles of the town of McNutt, Leflore county; in New Albany, Union county; Houston, Chickasaw county; within three and one-half miles of Oak Grove Presbyterian Church, in beat number two, Chickasaw county.

The acts forbidding the sale of liquors in Iuka, Thomastown, Decatur and Sarepta were repealed and the prohibition act for Benton and vicinity amended to allow sales of liquors by druggists on prescription.

The legislature of 1882 had so many petitions for special laws that they passed an omnibus bill under the title "An Act to prevent the sale or giving away of vinous, spirituous or malt liquors, in certain places in the State of Mississippi." By this act the prohibition territory was enlarged as follows: Within five miles of Jerusalem Church, Scott county; Copiah county, or within five miles thereof; within five miles of Union Church, in district five, and of Paris, Lafayette county; Falkner in Tippah county, or within two miles of the corporate limits thereof; Stray Horn, Tate county, or within two miles and one-half of the corporate limits of said town; within townships nine and ten, range five west in the county of Wayne, or within one mile west of said township; within five miles of the village of Free Run in Yazoo county; within three miles of Glenville, Panola county; within one mile of the town of Jonestown, Coahoma county; within five miles of Sand Spring Church, Lafayette county; within four miles of Mount Pleasant Church, Union county; within three miles of Fredonia Church, Union county; within five miles of Cockerham's Chapter, fourth supervisor's district, Amite county; within one mile of Salem Church, Choctaw county; in the town of Newport, Attala county; in the town of Pearlington, Hancock county, or within four miles thereof; within three miles of Star Landing, DeSoto county; within five miles of Mantachee Church in district two, Ittawamba county; within four miles of Cherry

Creek Church, Pontotoc county. It also provided that nothing in that act should apply to the town of Beauregard,<sup>2</sup> Copiah county, and that nothing in the same act should apply to persons who may sell vinous or spirituous liquors for sacramental purposes, nor to physicians who may administer the same for medicine nor to those who sell under a license until their license expire.

Other acts of the same legislature prohibited the sale of liquors in supervisors' district number one of Calhoun county; in the town of Benola in the same county and within five miles thereof; in Oakland, Yalobusha county, and within three and one-half miles thereof; in Bently, Calhoun county, or within three miles thereof; within five miles of Steen's Creek Church, Rankin county; at New Prospect church, Union county, and within four miles thereof; within three miles of Pleasant Ridge Church, Oktibbeha county; within the limits of the first supervisor's district of Prentiss county; in Saltillo and within two miles thereof in the county of Lee; in Baldwyn, Lee county, or within two miles of said town; in Pontotoc, Pontotoc county; and in the town of Sylvarena, Smith county.

*Acts of 1884.*—The legislature of 1884 passed an act to require dealers in vinous and spirituous liquors in quantities from one to five gallons to comply with sections 1103 and 1104 of the *Revised Code of 1880*—that is, to file petitions and give bonds.

It also passed acts to prohibit the making, selling or giving away of intoxicating liquors in the city of Corinth, county of Alcorn, and within five miles of the courthouse of said county; within five miles of Kossuth, Alcorn county; in a part of the second supervisor's district, Alcorn county; in the town of Sarepta and within three miles thereof, Calhoun county; in Black Hawk, Carroll county, or within five miles of said town; in the county of Clarke,<sup>3</sup> in the county of Copiah; in the town of Houston,

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<sup>2</sup>A cyclone blew the town of Beauregard away, and a saloonist put a plank across two whiskey barrels and opened up a bar to dispense liquors within an hour after the storm had passed.

<sup>3</sup>The Clarke County Statuary Prohibition bill passed the House without opposition. The Senate Committee on Public Health and quarantine recommended the following amendments: "Amend by adding to section three as follows: 'Provided, that nothing in this act shall apply to any incorporated town in the county of Clarke.'" Mr. Smith moved to table the amendment, which motion was carried. Mr. Hyer moved to indefinitely postpone the bill, which motion was lost. Mr. Roane, of Calhoun,

Chickasaw county; in Buena Vista, and within three miles of said town, Chickasaw county; in Hernando, DeSoto county; in Pleasant Hill, DeSoto county; within five miles of Fulton, Ittawamba county; within three miles of New Hope Methodist Church, Ittawamba county; in the sixth justice of the peace district, Ittawamba county; in supervisor's district number five, Jasper county; within three miles of Church Hill, Jefferson county; within three miles of the Presbyterian Camp Ground, Jones county; within five miles of Liberty and Shiloh Churches in beat two, Lafayette county; in Carthage, Leake county; in supervisor's district numbers four and five, Lee county; within a radius of three miles of the schoolhouse in the village of Moorsville, Lee county; within three miles of Reform Church of Bethany, Lee county; within the first district in Lee county; in the county of Marion; within two miles north five miles east, one mile south and one mile west of Walson P. O., Marshall county; within five miles of Wall Hill, Marshall county; in the town of Mount Pleasant, Marshall county; in Byhalia, Marshall county; within five miles of Marcolusha Academy and Hester Chapel, Neshoba county; in Centerville, Wilkinson county; in Newton county; in Shuqualak, Noxubee county; in Sardis, Panola county; in the first district, Panola county; in Como, Panola county; in district number two, Perry county; within five miles of Sartins' church, Pike county; within two and one-half miles of the church and school and Grange Hall near Randolph in supervisor's district number three, Pontotoc county; within three miles of Toccopolo College, town of Toccopolo, Pontotoc county; within two and one-half miles of the Mississippi Normal High School, in Pontotoc county, near Troy P.

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moved to adjourn, which motion was lost. Mr. Hyer moved to reconsider the vote whereby the amendment of the committee was lost. Mr. Smith moved to table the motion. Mr. Dickson moved to adjourn, which motion was lost. Mr. Dillard moved the previous question and the bill, which motion was sustained. The bill was read a third time and passed by the following vote: Yeas—Messrs. Boone, Byrd, Dickson, Hamilton of Hinds, Harvey, Heith, Kyle, Martin, Mitchell, Noland, Owen, Packwood, Powell, Semanton, Smith, Sykes, Terry, Walker, Whitney and Wilson. Nays—Messrs. Burkitt, Gage, Henderson, Hyer, Leese and Reynolds. Absent and not voting—Messrs. Braham, Jeffords, Liddell, Marshall, Roane of Calhoun, Roane of Webster and Hamilton of Holmes. A motion to reconsider was tabled. Mr. Hamilton of Holmes stated that he was paired with Mr. Jeffords; if voting he would vote aye, Mr. Jeffords nay.

O.; in Fannin, Rankin county; within two and one-half miles of Hooperville College, Scott county; in the county of Simpson.

The following prohibition acts were repealed: Those relating to Jonestown, Coahoma county, and the county of Calhoun. The prohibition area around Star Landing, DeSoto county, was increased from three to five miles.

An act incorporated the Presbyterian Church at Orinzoba, Tippah county, and prohibited the sale of liquors within one mile thereof. Other acts prohibited the sale of liquors in the following communities in Union county: Within two miles of either Lebanon or Pleasant Hill churches, in Rocky Ford, or within four miles thereof; within three miles of Union church; within two miles of Christian Rest Church; within two miles of Locust Grove Church, and within two miles of Coal Springs Academy. Prohibition was extended to Wayne county; Hohin-lindon, Webster county, and within five miles thereof; within five miles of Fellowship Church, Webster county; within four miles of Cumberland Baptist Church, Webster county; Air Mount, Yalobusha county, and within five miles thereof; and within six miles of Deasonville, Yazoo county. Fifty-seven pages of the *Laws of 1884* are taken up in special acts prohibiting the sale of liquors.

An act was also passed to submit the question of the liquor traffic to the qualified voters of Montgomery county. This was the first local option election in the State, and Montgomery was the first county to go "dry" by a vote of the people.

The same legislature also repealed the law that prohibited the sale of liquors at Clear Creek Church, Jasper county; in the county of Tate; in the town of Ripley, and within two and one-half miles thereof in Tippah county.

*Acts of 1886.*—The legislature of 1886 enacted the "Local Option Law" by which any county in the State might settle the question of prohibition for itself by a vote of its qualified electors. This greatly simplified the proceedings of future legislatures with reference to the prohibition question.

*Acts of 1888.*—An act was passed to prohibit the procuring of intoxicating liquors for any person under the age of twenty-one. Another act provided for appeals to the Circuit Court against

decisions of Boards of supervisors or authorities of incorporated cities or towns granting licenses to saloon keepers in counties or municipalities where local option elections had not been held under the provision of the local option law of 1886.

*Acts of 1890.*—Persons violating the prohibition laws of the State by selling without licenses were, in addition to the penalties theretofore imposed, made “civilly liable to the State for the highest amount” they should have paid for licenses, and the sheriff or tax collector was required to collect the tax under a penalty of liability on his bond for the amount which should have been paid. “Domestic wines made of grapes or berries,” grown by the manufacturer, were permitted to be sold, in any quantity not less than one pint, at Ocean Springs, Pass Christian, Biloxi, Bay St. Louis, Cooper’s Wells, Castalian Springs, “or other watering places where the sick and feeble resort for their health.” The sale of liquors was prohibited within five miles of the following places: Houston, Chickasaw county; French Camp, Choctaw county; Mount Nebo Church, Jefferson county; Cascilla Male and Female High School, Tallahatchie county; Sucarnoochee, Union and Antioch Churches, Kemper county; McBride’s school, Jefferson county; Lumberton High School, Marion county; Mastodon Church and Schoolhouse, Panola county; Goodman High School, Holmes county; Pickens High School, Holmes county; Macon High School, Noxubee county; Hickory Institute, Newton county; Rosehill Institute and Pleasant Hill High School, Jasper county; Hebron High School, Lawrence county; Macedonia Church, Kemper county; Saltillo High School, Lee county; Winston Normal School, Winston county; and Holly Springs, Marshall county (in quantities less than one gallon). The sale of liquors was prohibited within eight miles of Grace Chapel Church, Kemper county; and within seven miles of Ebenezer High School, Holmes county. The sale of liquors was prohibited within three miles of Artesia, Lowndes county; of Clear Creek Church, Lafayette county; of Bellefontaine High School, Webster county; of Shannon Institute, Lee county; within four miles of Houlka High School, Chickasaw county; within two miles of Ethel Schoolhouse or Church, Attala county; of Sapa, Webster county; of Cedar Bluff High School, Clay county; of Louisville Normal

School, Winston county; one and one-half miles of Van Cleve postoffice; of New Hope Baptist Church, Covington county; of Dunbar Canning Factory (Bay St. Louis), Hancock county; within one mile of Rural Hill Church and School, Winston county; of Harpers' Baptist College, Amite county; within three-quarters of a mile of Old Myrtle Normal School; within the corporate limits of Charleston, Tallahatchie county. An act was also passed forbidding the sale of liquors in supervisors' districts one, two and three, and in Acona precinct of district five, Holmes county.

Another act provided that licenses to sell liquors in Yazoo county be not less than one thousand dollars nor more than two thousand dollars for State taxes, that licenses for malt liquors be placed at not less than five hundred nor more than seven hundred and fifty dollars; and that saloon keepers' bonds in the said county should be in the penalty of five thousand dollars.

*Acts of 1892.*—Acts were passed prohibiting the sale of intoxicants within three miles of the school building at Palmetto Home, Yazoo county and Oakland, Yalobusha county.

No prohibition acts were passed by the legislatures of 1894, 1896, and 1898.

*Law of 1900.*—The possession of a United States license or of appliances adapted to unlawful retailing were made presumptive evidence of guilt on the part of persons having same, and owners, lessees or sub-lessees or occupants of any buildings or any part of a building in which liquors were being unlawfully retailed or kept were guilty of a misdemeanor, if they connived "in any manner directly or indirectly therein," or failed "to give information to some conservator of the peace of such violations." Proof of an unlawful sale or the unlawful keeping of liquors in such buildings were made to "constitute presumptive evidence of the violation of this section by any owner, lessee, or sub-lessee" not giving the information therein required. Mayors and justices of the peace were given authority, in certain cases, to take testimony as a grand jury and file the same with the circuit clerk to be delivered to the grand jury when in session.

*Law of 1902.*—Corporate authorities in every city or town of five hundred inhabitants or more, having police protection day

and night, were empowered to grant retail licenses for a period of twelve months and to collect therefor such tax as they may see proper, the same not being less than one thousand and two hundred dollars, if in a city, or nine hundred dollars, if in a town, said sums to be paid into the State treasury; but cities and towns might levy an additional tax of not less than twenty-five per cent of the State tax for municipal purposes. All laws conflicting therewith were repealed, except for cities and towns in a county where the sale of liquors is prohibited by law or by action of a county in a local option election.

*Law of 1904.*—Local option elections were to be held upon application of one-third of the qualified electors of any county, but not within forty days after the presentation of a petition for same, or within fifteen days after it is ordered, or within two months of any other election, county, state or national. Petitions requesting an election in counties then under the local option law were required to be filed with the clerk of the Board of Supervisors and to remain on file at least thirty days before its consideration. Names could be withdrawn from the petition by a written request from the petitioner, but signatures thus withdrawn could not be restored and could only be considered on a new petition. In a county under the local option law, a petition for an election, if withdrawn, or refused, or defeated, could not be followed by another petition until after the expiration of two years.

*Law of 1906.*—It was made unlawful to sell, barter or give away liquors less than one gallon to induce trade, without licenses.

A majority of the qualified voters of any city or town against the granting of licenses could prevent such action for twelve months. Petitions of a majority of legal voters were required recommending applicants for licenses, but such majorities must be exclusive of those signing counter petitions, and names found on both petitions, for and against licenses, were to be counted against the issuance. The full names of petitioners were required to be published in some newspaper in the county for three weeks of the month such petitions were on file.

Debts for liquors sold in less quantities than one gallon were not collectable by law. Intoxicating liquors kept or offered for sale in violation of law were not to be regarded as property, but

to be seized and destroyed. No liquor could be sold lawfully between 11 P. M. and 5 A. M., and no liquor could be sold within three miles of any meeting house or other places of worship, or on Sundays or election days. Tax collectors and mayors were required to furnish to the grand juries on the first day of each term of court a list of licenses granted within their jurisdictions.

Taking orders for or acting as agent or assistant of either the seller or purchaser of liquors were made unlawful within prohibition territory.

Liquors were required to be sold in the front part of buildings and screen doors were forbidden.

The prohibition law was made to extend to all itinerant vendors of liquors and to steamboats and railroad cars, except steamboats passing or temporarily stopping at points where liquors are licensed. Witnesses in trials for violating the liquor laws were required to testify, though their testimony might incriminate themselves.

All express companies or other common carriers were required to keep and preserve a record of the name and place of residence of every person to whom it delivers a package of vinous, spirituous or malt liquors, and such record were to be open for inspection at all times from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Parties receiving C. O. D. shipments of liquors were forbidden to give any part thereof to any one, or to remove such liquor more than one hundred feet from the point where he received it, under penalty of punishment for illicit sale. The possession by any person in the State of one-half gallon or more of intoxicating liquors shipped into the State upon condition of payment of purchase money therefor on delivery was *prima facie* evidence of the guilt of the party.

*Law of 1908.*—All licenses and privileges to sell intoxicating liquors were declared void after the thirty-first day of December, 1908, and no more licenses were to be granted from and after that date. A carefully prepared law was passed, at the same time, restricting the sale of alcoholic liquors for scientific, medicinal and sacramental purposes.

#### LOCAL OPTION ELECTIONS.

*Clarke County.*—In 1878 a temperance society was organized in

Clarke county, the principal members being Dr. J. C. Spinks, Judge M. E. Norris, Major M. F. Berry, Messrs. C. L. Watson, T. A. Ledyard, M. W. Buckley, D. W. Heidelberg, Rev. L. E. Hall, and the writer of this sketch. This society made arrangements for Luther Benson to make two addresses at Shubuta. These addresses resulted in great good. Among the men of influence whose views were changed thereby was Capt. S. B. Rich, owner of several turpentine stills, who had said that he did not think a business could be carried on at a place where there was no saloon. The day following the lecture a saloonist came to him for help in making his bond, but instead of helping, Capt. Rich got a counter petition and defeated the saloon.

When the grading work on the road bed of the N. O. & N. E. Railroad reached Pachuta, some men from Quitman wanted to start a saloon at that place. Maj. M. F. Berry had men to work from that part of the supervisor's district and the writer worked from another. When these forces met at the courthouse in Quitman with petitions containing ten feet of names, the saloonists withdrew their petition. A counter petition against saloons in Shubuta was then prepared with enough names to defeat a saloon, but the clerk "lost" it. When the saloonist called for the mayor and board of aldermen to grant the license, there was no counter petition and it was granted. Next time the counter petition was held until the board of mayor and aldermen met. The saloonists contended that the petition had not been filed in the time allowed, but their contention failed. The registration book had been hidden to keep the whiskey men from finding it, but they found it with the leaves containing the names of the legal voters extracted. A copy had been secured, however, by the saloonists and was used by them to keep voters from signing the counter petitions. This copy was finally adopted as the legal list of voters. A day was spent in revising the list, and the whiskey petition and the saloonists failed to have a majority. One of the aldermen was the petitioner. They were allowed to withdraw the petition and another registration was ordered and the book placed in the gambling room of the saloon so that each whiskey man could be approached to sign the petition when he registered.

That night three saloonists made a desperate but unsuccessful

attempt to assassinate the writer of this paper. They were arrested and, as a result, men who had always signed petitions then refused, claiming that if they did they would be indorsing this effort at mob violence. The saloonist got about half enough signers in thirty days, and this failure caused the saloons in Shubuta to be closed. No more saloon licenses were granted in the town after that time.

When the local option law was enacted, the prohibitionists of Clarke county secured an election on June 8th, 1886, and carried the county against the sale by a majority of 407 voters. On February 26, 1889, another election was held through the activity of the whiskey men, and the county vote was then 910 against and 486 for saloons. Two years later another effort of the saloonists failed to get enough signers to call an election.

*Newton County.*—This county has never had a local option election, as it was covered by special local acts of the legislature.

*Warren County.*—The only local option election ordered in this county was held July 17, 1886. The commissioners reported July 20, 1886, that there were 3,037 votes for and 737 against the sale, making a majority of 2,300 in favor of saloons in that county. The saloons have always dominated that county, and it was only a few years ago that the officers required petitions setting forth the fact that the applicants for licenses were men of good moral character or attempted to enforce the law requiring saloons to close on the Sabbath day.

*Jefferson County.*—At the writing of this paper (January, 1908), whiskey is still sold in this county, but it will soon be "dry," as saloons have been voted out and the last license will soon expire.

*Madison County.*—This county has also voted out saloons, and its last license will soon expire. For a long time the saloons of Canton have controlled the politics of that county and held the city of Canton and Madison county in the whiskey ranks.

*Ittawamba County.*—This county never held a local option election.

*Lawrence County.*—No local option election was ever held in this, the first county in the State, to obtain statutory prohibition. It has been "dry" since 1880.

*Hancock County*.—Saloon sentiment is so strong that a local option election has never been held in this county.

*Tate County*.—This is a pioneer county in securing prohibition. Ex-Lieutenant Governor G. D. Shands was the leader in securing statutory prohibition and they have never held an election.

*Harrison County*.—On the 31st day of July, 1886, a local option election was held which resulted as follows: Against the sale, 394; for the sale, 830; majority for the sale, 436.

*Lauderdale County*.—The first local option election held in that county was in 1886, resulting in a victory for prohibition. In the election held in 1888, the county went "wet." The writer helped in that campaign, but it was not conducted according to his idea. The work was turned over principally to some young men, and they resorted to the tactics of the whiskey men in trying to intimidate the negroes, and it reacted on them. One night a car load of negroes was brought down by a saloonist, then an officer of the city government, from Lauderdale station, and they were carried to the courthouse, registered, and given whiskey tickets tied up in a handkerchief which they were directed to keep until election day. At the appointed time they were marched to the polls in solid ranks, and if a white man got to vote he had to stand in the line "sandwiched" between two negroes and remain in the jam for hours.

The life of the writer was threatened on the ground that he was meddling with something that did not concern him. The saloon men were never able to get a majority petition in Meridian, and the city has been dry for fourteen years, though the county of Lauderdale was a wet county. Men could establish offices there and take orders, and it has been a great curse. The prohibitionists should have brought another election and relieved themselves of that incubus.

*Washington County*.—This county has never held a local option election. Saloon licenses are granted in Leland, Belzonia and Greenville. The remainder of the county is dry.

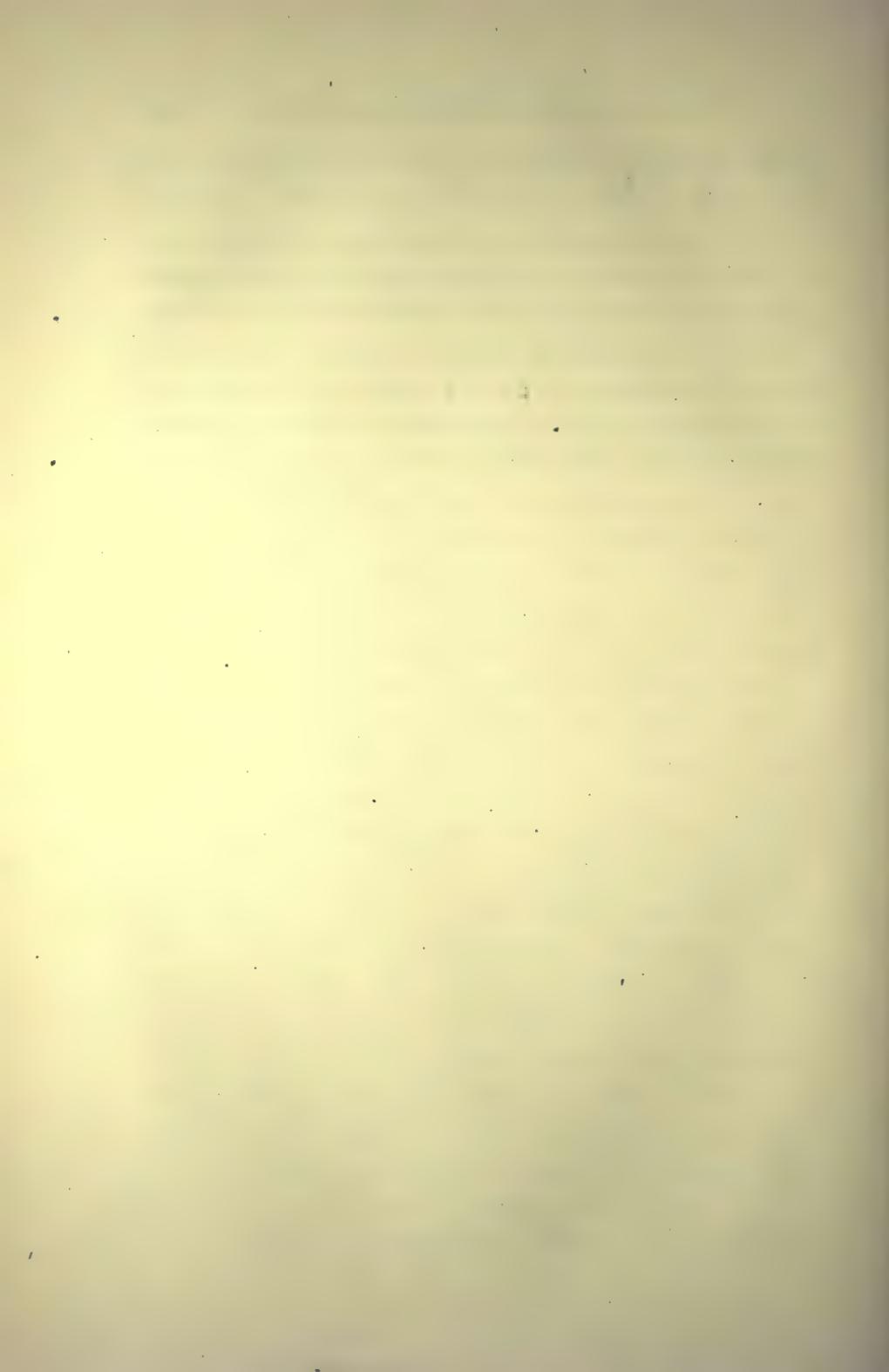
*Pike County*.—A local option election was held in this county August 23, 1888, which resulted as follows: for the sale, 825; against the sale, 1,059; majority against the sale, 234.

*Benton County*.—The chancery clerk says he is not able to give

me the information asked concerning the prohibition laws of that county. No facts are, therefore, given on this subject in this sketch.

As the chancery clerks in the other counties in the State did not answer the letters of inquiry sent them, the writer is unable to give at this time information concerning elections in those counties.

There are at this writing (January, 1908), only seven "wet" counties in Mississippi, as follows: Tunica, Washington, Warren, and Adams on the Mississippi river and Hancock, Harrison and Jackson on the Mississippi gulf coast.



## BEGINNINGS OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN MISSISSIPPI.

BY REV. T. L. HAMAN.<sup>2</sup>

In 1680 La Salle, the bold and able commandant of Fort Frontinac, on Lake Ontario, determined to explore the Mississippi River to its mouth, and accordingly, with thirty-five other Frenchmen, one of whom was a Jesuit priest, he left the fort, and made his way through the intervening wilderness to the Illinois River. He descended the river to its confluence with the Mississippi, and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, which he succeeded in reaching in 1682. He at once, in the name of France, and of the Church of Rome, took formal possession of the entire country watered by the Mississippi River and its tributaries, and in token thereof he placed the arms of France and the symbol of the cross upon a column erected for that purpose, and thus, according to the universal custom of Catholic countries, was established the Church of Rome in this large empire, and from it at the same time was excluded all Protestant worship. This state of affairs so continued until 1763, when, as a result of the war which grew out of disputed boundaries of the French and British colonies in the New World, France ceded to Great Britain, Canada and all the countries east of the Mississippi River except the Island of New Orleans, and Spain ceded to Great Britain Florida, which Great Britain at once proceeded to erect into two provinces, East Florida and West Florida, the

<sup>1</sup>In the preparation of this paper the writer has consulted every available source of information. He especially acknowledges his indebtedness to Jones' (Rev. J. G.) *Protestantism in Mississippi*; Hutchinson's (Rev. J. R.) *Reminiscences*, and Howe's (Rev. George) *The Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*. He has drawn freely from these sources, his purpose being merely to hunt up and arrange, in chronological order, all the data to be derived from any and every source incident to and setting forth "The Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Mississippi," *i. e.*, from the introduction of Presbyterianism in the State up to the organization of the first Presbytery, in 1816.

<sup>2</sup>Rev. Thomas L. Haman was born in Hinds County, Mississippi, near the present town of Learned, on December 7, 1846. He was the son of Stratford and Elizabeth (Allen) Haman. The Haman family was of English extraction, immigrating in the seventeenth century to the eastern shore of Virginia and later a branch of them to North Carolina. In 1831 Stratford Haman moved from North Carolina to Mississippi, settling in Hinds County, where he was a successful farmer until his death at eighty-six years of age.

The subject of this sketch enlisted before he was seventeen years old  
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latter of which embraced the Natchez country. Great Britain being protestant, established religious liberty, which, however, lasted only until 1779, when the Natchez country passed under the jurisdiction of Spain. In order to attract settlers Great Britain, while in possession, not only proclaimed religious liberty but offered gratuitous grants of land. This drew some valuable citizens to the Natchez country. Rev. J. G. Jones says:

"Among the first who came was Amos Ogden, a reduced captain in the British navy, to whom the king of England had made a grant of 25,000 acres of land on condition that the land be located and permanently settled by a specified number of families. Finding that he was unable of himself to comply with the conditions he sold 19,800 acres of his grant to two wealthy planters from New Jersey, by the names of Richard and Samuel Swayze, on condition that they would assist him in locating the land and would settle their portion of families on it. In 1772, after a tedious and perilous journey, Captain Ogden and the Swayze brothers, with their families and connections to the full number required by the conditions of the grant, landed upon the same in time to raise corn in the following year. They settled on the Homochito River near what was known as *Kingston* and formed what is still known as the 'Jersey Settlement.'"

Rev. Samuel Swayze, one of the original settlers of the above named grant, was a Congregational minister. Soon after their arrival in the Natchez country they were regularly organized into a Congregational Church, with Mr. Swayze as their pastor, which he continued to be until his death in 1784. Mr. Jones says:

"There is no doubt that Mr. Swayze was the first protestant minister that ever settled in what is now the State of Mississippi, and his church, the first protestant church ever organized in it."

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in Harvey's Scouts and served with that gallant company until the close of the War of Secession. He is a graduate of the University of Mississippi (1870) and of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C. (1873). He was married (Sept., 1873) in Sumter, S. C., to Miss Mary Adelaide Blanding, daughter of Col. J. D. Blanding, an eminent lawyer and veteran of the Mexican war and the War of Secession. He has served as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Greenwood (1873-1875) and Yazoo City (1875-1877). Being forced by ill health to resign the latter position, he spent a year in rest and recuperation, after which he became pastor of the Presbyterian church at Vaiden, of which church, in connection with others near by, he is still pastor.

For a period of more than thirty years he has been a member of the Home Mission Board of his Presbytery and, for more than twenty years, President of the Board of Trustees of the Presbyterian Schools at French Camp. He has also, for a number of years, been chairman of the Synod's permanent Committee on Church, Schools and Colleges, and has several times represented his Presbytery in the General Assembly.—EDITOR.

That these early pioneers had to endure many hardships, privations and dangers on account of the unsettled state of the country and the frequent hostile raids of the Indians, goes without saying, but, as intimated above, they were called to endure sufferings from other sources also. In 1779, as a result of the Revolutionary War, Great Britain ceded East and West Florida to Spain. The Natchez country was made a Spanish province and continued under Spanish rule for eighteen years. Again we find protestant worship strictly forbidden. Protestant Bibles and religious books, whenever they fell into the hands of the priests, were at once committed to the flames. Persons detected in religious worship not in conformity with the Catholic Church were cast into prison; as a condition of their release they were threatened, on repeating their offense, to be exiled as slaves to the mines of Mexico. Among the faithful who suffered imprisonment for holding religious meetings were John Bolls, a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, and Richard Curtis, a Baptist minister. These bitter and persistent persecutions soon scattered the members of Mr. Swayze's church and eventually broke it up entirely. But, though harassed and scattered, they remained true to the faith and principles of evangelical religion, and later, under American rule, they and their descendants became constituent elements in the formation of the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and, to some extent, the Episcopal Churches in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas.

On March 29, 1798, the Spanish secretly evacuated Fort Rosalie and departed for New Orleans. Early the next morning the American flag—symbol of civil and religious liberty—was raised and American jurisdiction proclaimed. And thus the way was opened for the entrance and exercise of Protestant religion. The Presbyterians were not the first to take advantage of these auspicious circumstances. First were the Baptists, under the leadership of Rev. Richard Curtis, who had, as a licentiate during the Spanish rule, gathered congregations to whom he preached and with blessed results; but who, for this very reason, was first imprisoned and later, in 1795, forced to leave the country and return to South Carolina. Having been ordained in that State, he returned to the Natchez country

soon after the departure of the Spaniards and resumed his work effecting the organization of the "Salem Church" in 1798, "which," says Hutchinson, "was the first protestant Church in this country under *American rule.*"

The next denomination in order of time that was represented in the Natchez country was the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the person of Rev. Adam Cloud, a native of Delaware. He settled on St. Catherines Creek, near Natchez, in 1792, and was warmly received by protestants, especially by those who wished to have their children baptized, they having been deprived of that privilege since the death of Rev. Mr. Swayze, in 1784. After about three years he was arrested by a file of Spanish soldiers and sent in fetters to New Orleans for the offense of "preaching, baptizing and marrying people contrary to the laws of the existing government." In 1816 he returned to Mississippi and settled near Greenville, in Jefferson County, and it appears that the first Protestant Episcopal Church in the Territory was organized *after* this time.

The next protestant denomination that was represented in the Southwest was the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the person of Rev. Tobias Gibson, who, according to Rev. J. G. Jones, came as a missionary from the South Carolina Conference and landed at Natchez in the spring of 1799. Soon after he organized the first Methodist Church in Washington, the seat of the Territorial Government. At an early date Mr. Gibson visited most of the important settlements in the Western portion of the Territory between Fort Adams, below Natchez, and Walnut Hills, near the present site of Vicksburg, in most of which he laid the foundations of future churches. Mr. Gibson died in what is now Warren County, about six miles south of Vicksburg (April 5, 1804), where a monument has been erected to his memory.

The next protestant denomination represented in Mississippi, Mr. Jones says, was the Presbyterian. Its first missionary was the Rev. Joseph Bullen, of Worcester, Mass. He was sent out by the Presbyterian Missionary Board of New York in 1779 as a missionary to the Chickasaw Indians. But the real work of laying the foundation of the Presbyterian Church in Mississippi was a missionary enterprise of the Synod of the Carolinas, at

which time the jurisdiction of that Synod extended over the States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Georgia at that time, according to the charter granted to her by the British Government, included all the territory west of the present limits of that State (Georgia) to the Mississippi River, constituting the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. After Georgia, in 1803, relinquished this territory to the Federal Government, the Synod of the Carolinas still regarded this territory within its Presbyterial jurisdiction, and hence, on the establishment of American civil authority over the Mississippi Territory in 1798, that Synod immediately adopted efficient measures to send the gospel and plant churches in it. At this time Mississippi Territory was little more than a vast wilderness, the entire population, according to the census then being taken, exclusive of Indians, was 8,850. Of these 5,361 were white and the remainder were African slaves.

The mode of conducting domestic missions by the Presbyterian Church at that day seems to have been derived from the Kirk of Scotland, which was to conduct her missions through the immediate agency of her own divinely ordained courts, which appointed the missionaries and provided for their support. Accordingly Dr. Howe informs us that, at its sessions in the year 1800 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church appointed the Rev. James Hall, of the Presbytery of Concord, North Carolina, a missionary to the Natchez country, and that a few months later the Synod of the Carolinas, while in regular session, expressed themselves as impressed with the importance of the mission and with the belief that, if possible, Mr. Hall should have company. They therefore determined to send with him two members, viz., Rev. James H. Bowman and Rev. William Montgomery. The pastoral charges of Messrs. Hall and Bowman were in North Carolina and that of Mr. Montgomery in Georgia. These men were directed to spend eight months in the Natchez country and places adjacent, if convenient, and expedient, and for their support the Synod pledged itself to give them thirty-three and one-third dollars per month from the time they engaged in the work. Mr. Hall and his missionary companions made their journey separately to Nashville, Tenn., thence together over the "Natchez Trace" to

Natchez. The entire trip being made in the saddle and with an extra pack horse. They had to travel not only through the territory of the Indians, with possibly no chance of protection or accommodation from white settlers north of the Walnut Hills (Vicksburg), but their road was infested with a band of robbers under the celebrated Mason, "the Robin Hood" of that day, consequently ordinary travelers went heavily armed, ready for the most desperate emergencies. But not so with the little band of three, whose only arms were an unwavering faith in their Divine Leader and the protection of an overruling Providence. Mr. Hall had been a soldier in the Revolutionary War and knew how to fight. When the troops of Cornwallis were overrunning South Carolina, he called his flock together, not for the peaceful worship of God, but to take up arms in defense of their neighbors, and the result was he in a short time led them on an expedition into South Carolina in the double office of leader and chaplain.

In the northeastern part of the present State of Mississippi, at Pontotoc, they spent the night with Rev. Joseph Bullen, at the mission station he had established among the Indians. To a late hour in the night they talked over their plans for extending the Redeemer's kingdom in the Southwest. This night's entertainment was quite different from their ordinary experience on the trip. Ordinarily, when night overtook them they pitched their tents, tethered their horses and cooked and ate their evening meal and "the wild woods rang with their hymns of lofty cheer" in spite of the fact that their meals sometimes consisted of a little meal gruel or a raccoon which they were so fortunate to catch and which they cooked and ate without salt or condiment, "not," as Mr. Montgomery with much glee would say, pausing to examine the Levitical code as to whether it was "a clean or unclean beast," farther adding that "that same old coon" was about the best he ever tasted.

At one time their circumstances became so desperate that they pressed forward day and night as fast as their horses could carry them. At last at 2 o'clock in the morning they drew near to a dwelling on Big Black, to which they had been attracted by the crowing of a rooster. They hastened to the house, aroused the inmates, pleading starvation as their apol-

ogy. They were kindly received and a meal of corn bread, bacon and coffee was speedily furnished them. Near this point they established their *first* preaching station; a few miles farther south, at Grindstone Ford, they established the *second*; still a few miles farther south they established the *third*. The next place at which they halted was the Samuel Gibson plantation, a mere ferryboat crossing over Bayou Pierre, but which two or three years later grew into a small settlement known as Gibsonport, and afterwards as Port Gibson. Here, by request, Mr. Montgomery preached the funeral of a Mrs. Gibson, who had died a few hours before their arrival; this is thought to be the first sermon ever heard in the settlement. A few miles south of the Gibson plantation they found many Presbyterian families, says Dr. Hutchinson, exceeding anxious for religious privileges. Here the people united and built a log house and called it "Bayou Pierre Church." This was their *fourth* station. They continued their course south along the Natchez Trace until they crossed "Coles Creek." Here they found a small town called *Uniontown*, to which they were attracted by the name of Montgomery, where they found two brothers, Samuel and Alexander Montgomery, who had immigrated to that vicinity from Kentucky, and were originally from Georgia. They were planters of influence. One of them, Alexander, was at the time (1800) a member of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Mississippi, and later (1809) and perhaps from 1810 to 1812 the President of that body. They were Presbyterians. They also found others anxious to co-operate with them in securing religious privileges; among them were seven families who had emigrated from New Jersey with the Swayze brothers, and who had been charter members of the Congregational Church at Kingston. After the breaking up of this church by the Spaniards these families had settled at Uniontown. Their names were Jeremiah, Israel and Ephraim Coleman; John Griffing, Alexander Callender, Archibald and Stephen Douglas; also Felix Hughes, an intelligent Irishman of Episcopal education, whose wife had been a devout member of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina, and the renowned John Bolls, of blessed memory, who, under the Spanish rule, had braved the tyrant's wrath in behalf of religion, suffered imprisonment for

holding prayer-meetings, and who, when the American flag went up over Fort Rosalie, was under arrest awaiting exile to the mines of Mexico. Of whom Dr. Hutchinson says:

"He was a ruling elder in the Hopewell church, North Carolina, before the Revolutionary War; was in the Mecklenburg Convention where the first Declaration of Independence was adopted; had served as a soldier in the Revolutionary army; was a man of devout piety and heroic courage; by lending himself to various congregations for the eldership, and in other ways, helped to lay the foundation of many churches in Mississippi."

The three missionaries collected the families into a congregation and formed the nucleus for a future church. These families, thus collected, united and built a log house of worship on land belonging to Alexander Callender and called it first "Callender's Meeting House," and later "Bethel." It was located near the fork of Cole's Creek, in sight of the road leading from Port Gibson to Natchez.

Leaving Uniontown, which was their *fifth* station, the missionaries, says Dr. Hutchinson, continued their course south along the Natchez Trace.

The next point where they established a station, the *sixth*, was Washington. Here they found the state of things still more interesting. In the vicinity were many Presbyterian families of wealth, intelligence and high social position, to whom they proposed and carried into effect the establishment of a place of worship.

The next point they reached, says the same author, was Natchez, where they found only one Presbyterian family, that of John Henderson, a Scotchman brought up under the instructions of the Presbyterian Church in his native land, and who had carefully preserved the faith and practices of his forefathers. The name of Henderson has become identified with the Natchez Church and community down to the present time, and has proven a tower of strength to the cause of Christ. This was the *seventh* station.

In the vicinity of Natchez they found, in what is known as the "Jersey Settlement," some of the most eminent families who had once belonged to Mr. Swayze's congregation, which was dispersed by the Spanish authorities. Holding the same standard of doctrinal faith with the Presbyterian Church, they

readily co-operated with the missionaries, who made this their eighth station.

The ninth and last station which they established was at Pinckneyville, south of Natchez and not far from the boundary line of the Territory. Thus we find that these faithful missionaries established in the Natchez country nine preaching stations—Big Black, Grindstone Ford, Clarke's Creek, Bayou Pierre, Callender's Meeting House, Washington, Natchez, Jersey Settlement, and Pinckneyville. Of the nine five were subsequently organized into churches which flourished years afterward. Having done the work they were commissioned to do, viz., to explore the country, to hunt up the members of the church who were scattered as sheep without a shepherd, and by the aid of leading members of the communities to establish at eligible points preaching places and nuclei for future churches, they left the Territory in April, 1801, and returned to their pastorates over the same long and perilous route by which they had come. According to their report to Synod they found the Territory of Mississippi exceedingly destitute of religious privileges, "only one Episcopal, one Methodist and two Baptist clergymen besides a few exhorters."

On their return to North Carolina Dr. Hall published in pamphlet form "A Summary view of the Country from Settlements on the Cumberland River to and Including the Mississippi Territory," <sup>3</sup>in which he gave his impressions of the people, of the manner in which the missionaries were received, and a farewell address to them adopted at a public meeting of the chief citizens of Nacthez. From this "summary view" it appears that, though there was great religious and spiritual destitution throughout the country, yet there was much to favor and encourage the propagation of the gospel there, for the most opulent citizens and influential characters expressed an earnest desire for a permanent ministry and promised every encouragement. When Dr. Hall and his companions made their report, the Synod felt impelled to act at once for the furtherance of the good work so auspiciously begun and so full of promise for the Master's kingdom in the great Southwest. Accordingly

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<sup>3</sup>This pamphlet was reprinted in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 539-575.—EDITOR.

we find that at the same meeting of Synod (October, 1801), to which the report was made, Mr. Montgomery was reappointed to the Natchez country and Rev. John Mathews appointed to accompany him. Mr. Montgomery did not go at the time, but Mr. Mathews did and remained one year. In order to conduct its missionary operations with system and efficiency, Synod also appointed at this meeting a *commission*, which should have charge of the same in the interim. This commission, in 1804, sent out Rev. Daniel Brown and Rev. Malchom McNeil, who remained in the Territory six months. Later it appointed Rev. James Smylie, of Orange Presbytery, N. C., who, in the fall of 1805, says Dr. Hutchinson, made a favorable report to Synod, by letter, and asked for further aid. He settled at Washington, the Capital of the Territory, and took charge of the congregation which the missionaries, who preceded him had collected.

#### PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS PERMANENTLY SETTLED IN MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.

As we have seen, the first Presbyterian minister to visit the Territory of Mississippi was Rev. Joseph Bullen, who came, in 1779, as a missionary to the Chickasaw Indians. He was also the first to permanently settle in the Territory. In addition to what has been said of Mr. Bullen it will only be necessary to add that after serving one year, the limit of his commission, he returned to New York and received a second commission for three years. About the middle of March, 1800, he set out with his wife and children on his long and perilous journey from Windham County, Vermont, to the Chickasaw Nation in the Southwest. His course was by way of Troy, New York, and thence through Pennsylvania to Pittsburg. At the town of Bedford, in Pennsylvania, several members of his family were taken sick, one of whom, an amiable daughter just blooming into womanhood died.

Having arrived at Pittsburg Mr. Bullen procured a flatboat, on which, with his family, he descended the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the Chickasaw Bluffs, where Memphis now stands. There being neither wagon nor wagon road, Mr. Bullen procured pack horses from the Indian traders to convey his family and

chattels one hundred miles to the Indian town of Pontotoc, near which he procured an old Indian settlement for a family residence. The Indians generally received him kindly and through the aid of an interpreter he preached the gospel to them. He also organized a rudimental school, which was taught by his son Joseph, and having a blacksmith and wood workman connected with the mission family, he succeeded, to some extent, in teaching some of the Indians the use of tools. This mission was not without some fruit, for in addition to some improvement in agriculture and the use of tools, several learned to read, and a few were admitted to the church. Mr. Bullen's term of missionary service expired towards the close of 1802, and in the early part of 1803 he left Pontotoc and settled in Jefferson County, as before stated, where he labored as a faithful servant of his Master until March 26, 1825, when his sojourn on earth was closed and he went to his reward. The wife of his youth and faithful partner of his long and eventful pilgrimage preceded him in October, 1818. Both of them were buried at Bethel, which he had organized twenty-one years before and whose faithful pastor he had been from that time on. He was the first Moderator of the first Presbytery in the Southwest.

The second Presbyterian minister to settle permanently in the Territory was Rev. James Smylie, who came as a missionary from North Carolina in 1804 or 1805, and settled at Washington. Dr. Hutchinson says Mr. Smylie was born in North Carolina of Highland-Scotch parentage about the year 1780. He received his classical and theological education at Guildford, North Carolina, under Rev. Dr. Caldwell, and was licensed and ordained by Orange Presbytery. He established a classical academy at Washington, which is believed to be the first in the Territory. In 1811 he removed to Amite County, Mississippi, and was actively engaged in missionary labors and organizing churches in Mississippi and Louisiana. He planted Christianity over a wide extent of country and greatly elevated the standard of education. Many of his pupils became leading men. When the storm of abolition arose and swept with the violence of a hurricane over the country, he was one of the first to oppose it. He prepared a sermon, giving the scriptural views on the subject, and preached it extensively over the country. In

1836 the Presbytery of Chillicothe addressed a violent abolition letter to the Presbytery of Mississippi. This letter Mr. Smylie answered in a pamphlet which was extensively circulated, and the whole question of domestic slavery was universally agitated. This pamphlet, it is said, influenced the legislation of the country. It was recognized as a sort of text-book on the subject, and exerted a large influence in shaping the subsequent course of the South, both in Church and State. Mr. Smylie had the honor of being the first stated clerk of the Presbytery of Mississippi in laying the foundations for which he was in the hands of his Master, such an important factor. In addition to the good he had done in mission work, gathering and forming churches, he in 1814 rode on horseback and alone through the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations to Nashville, Tennessee, and prevailed on the Presbytery of West Tennessee, then in session, to overture the Synod of Kentucky to organize a Presbytery in the Mississippi Territory. The first act of the Presbytery after its organization was to extend to Mr. Smylie a vote of thanks for procuring the organization. In his old age he devoted his time exclusively to the religious instruction of the negroes. He collected large congregations of them, and in addition to preaching prepared a catechism for them, which was approved by the Synod of Mississippi, and which large classes of them could repeat from memory. He was an accurate Latin and Greek scholar, a profound theologian and a thorough Calvinist. He died in 1853, aged seventy-three years. He left many valuable manuscripts behind him, but nothing has seen the light excepting his pamphlet on slavery.

The third Presbyterian minister who permanently settled in the Territory, according to Dr. Jones, was Rev. Jacob Rickhow, who was born in 1768 on Staten Island, N. Y. He had not the advantage of a classical education. He began to preach in the Methodist Church and was ordained to the work by Bishop Asbury. In 1808 he was received into the Presbytery of New Brunswick, assigning as a reason for leaving the Methodist Church that he was not in accord with her views of the possibility of falling from grace. He came to Natchez in 1810. Here he taught and preached to a little flock of Presbyterians. Shortly thereafter he began preaching in the eastern part of

Jefferson County, where he organized Ebenezer Church, of which he was the stated supply until about 1817. In 1814 he removed to the vicinity of Port Gibson and settled on a farm, where he remained many years. In 1817 he was appointed by the General Assembly itinerant missionary to Amite County and the neighboring parishes in Louisiana. At a later date he became the great missionary to the Piney Woods counties in Eastern Mississippi, in the region of Pearl River. Dr. Hutchinson says:

"Here he was in all his glory. He had the true spirit of a pioneer preacher. The Piney Woods churches seemed to belong to him. No sacramental meeting or baptism of a child seemed to be right without his presence. He was indefatigable in his long journeys on horseback, and in his old age enduring the fatigue of all weathers and all seasons for the glorious privilege of preaching the Gospel."

After the death of his wife he removed to Mississippi City, where he resided with his son-in-law until his death on the 23d of November, 1856, at the advanced age of ninety-one years.

The fourth Presbyterian minister who located permanently in the Territory was Rev. Wm. Montgomery, one of the three missionaries who came here in 1800. He was born in 1768, in Shippensburg (or Chambersburg), Pennsylvania. Rev. J. G. Jones says that about the commencement of the Revolutionary War his father moved to North Carolina and settled in Mecklenburg. On the outbreak of the war he joined the patriot army and took an active part in the struggle. About the close of the war he moved to the Waxhaw settlement in South Carolina. During his residence there his son William graduated from Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Soon thereafter we find the family in Georgia. While there Mr. Montgomery took his theological course under Rev. Dr. Cummings. Shortly after entering the ministry he came with Messrs. Hall and Bowman as a missionary to Mississippi, under the direction of the Synod of the Carolinas. When the mission was completed Mr. Montgomery returned, says Dr. Hutchinson, to Georgia and settled as pastor of the Church at Lexington. Soon after this he was married to Miss Lane, a niece of General Joseph Lane, who in 1860 was candidate for the vice-presidency of the United States on the ticket with John C. Breckenridge. In 1810 he once more visited Mississippi with the view of finding a permanent field of

labor. In 1811 he removed with his family to Washington, the Territorial capital, and became President of Jefferson College at that place. He soon resigned this position that he might devote all his time to the work of the ministry. In 1812 he became pastor of Pine Ridge Church. Although this was a wealthy congregation he resigned the place in 1818, and from 1820 to 1848 devoted his whole time to the two churches of Ebenezer and Union in the Scotch settlement.<sup>4</sup> Under his faithful pastorate these two fields developed into large and influential churches. He made occasional preaching tours in various directions and was personally known in almost all the churches in Mississippi. It was the age of camp-meetings in which he took great delight, and was a willing and efficient laborer. He was scrupulous to meet all his appointments, and during his long ministry he failed to do this only twice. One failure was caused by the death of his wife and the other by the death of his son. Mrs. McEachern (*nee* McDougal), a member of his church when quite young, told the writer that he missed only *one* appointment and that was caused by having his feet badly scalded while scalding hogs. In old age he was a great favorite with the young, and exerted a great influence over a wide extent of country. At the time of his death a generation had grown up around him and under his influence. He had baptized most of them in infancy, united most of their parents in marriage and buried their dead. At the time of his death in 1848 he was over eighty years old and had been in the ministry fifty years. He left two daughters and five sons, one of whom was Rev. Samuel Montgomery.

#### THE FIRST EIGHT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THE SOUTHWEST.

The *first* Presbyterian Church in Mississippi, and indeed the first in the great Southwest, was organized in the year 1804 by Rev. Joseph Bullen. It was organized near Uniontown, Jefferson County, and was called "Bethel." The families composing it were chiefly of Mr. Swayze's Congregational Church at Kingston. Among its members were: Alexander Montgomery, John

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<sup>4</sup>A sketch of this settlement will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 265-271.—EDITOR.

Bolls, Alexander Callender and John Griffing, ruling elders. In 1817 John Ailsworth, Daniel Huey and Joseph Parmalee were added to the eldership. In 1822, as a matter of accommodation to a majority of the members this church was dissolved and its members transferred to the *Harmony Church*, which had been established a few miles south of the town of Fayette. The *Harmony Church* was subsequently dissolved and its members attached to the *Ebenezer Church*, which had been organized by Rev. Jacob Reckhow in 1811.

The *second Presbyterian Church* organized in the Territory was in the Bayou Pierre settlement, two and a half or three miles southwest from Port Gibson, where the missionaries had established a preaching station. It was organized by Rev. Joseph Bullen and Rev. James Smylie in 1807. The church was called *Bayou Pierre* and among the families composing its membership we find the names of Waterman, Crane and Alexander Armstrong, the last of whom became the first elder in the Port Gibson Church. This church at a later date was dissolved because it was more convenient for some of the members to attend the church at Port Gibson, and for others to attend a second "Bethel" church, which had been organized in Claiborne County east of Petit Gulf or Rodney, not far from Oakland College.

The *third Presbyterian Church* was organized by Rev. James Smylie, February 25, 1807, at the town of Washington, with twenty members and three elders, and was called "Salem." Rev. B. H. Williams, pastor of this church for ten years, in a farewell sermon, 1854, names the following as the first three elders: John Bolls, John Grafton and James McKnight. In 1808 the church was removed to Pine Ridge, about four miles west of Washington, where they built a house of worship and assumed the name of "Pine Ridge," which it still bears. This house of worship, as appears from the memorial of Rev. James Smylie in the minutes of the Synod, was erected by John Bisland and John Henderson, two Scotchmen who were brought up under the instruction of the Presbyterian Church in their native land and who carefully preserved the religious faith and practices of their forefathers. Rev. James Smylie continued to act as stated supply to this church until March, 1811, when

he removed to Amite County, Mississippi, where he died in 1853. This is the oldest existing Presbyterian Church in the Southwest and still has a healthy and apparently permanent existence, with the promise of future blessedness and blessing. It has been peculiarly blessed with a succession of faithful pastors and ruling elders. It has just passed its century mark, which event the Presbytery of Mississippi, which was organized within its walls ninety-one years before, celebrated in April, 1907, with suitable and most impressive exercises.

The *fourth* Presbyterian Church organized in the Territory was "*Bethany*," in Amite County. It was organized by Rev. James Smylie, perhaps in 1807, but certainly prior to 1811, as is to be inferred from the fact that he resigned the Pine Ridge Church in March, 1811, and moved to Amite County to take charge of other churches.

The *fifth* Presbyterian Church in the Territory was *Amite*. It was also organized by Mr. Smylie about the same time that he organized Bethany Church. This church was also in Amite County.

The *sixth* Presbyterian Church in the Southwest was also organized by Mr. Smylie at about the same time that he organized the churches at Bethany and Amite. The name given to this church was *Florida*. Its locality was not in the Territory of Mississippi but in Louisiana, near the present town of Jackson, to which place it was subsequently removed.

The *seventh* Presbyterian Church in the Southwest was *Ebenezer*, organized by Rev. Joseph Rickhow in 1811. Its locality was in the eastern part of Jefferson County in what was known as the *Scotch Settlement*. Mr. Rickhow arrived in Natchez in 1808 from the Presbytery of New Brunswick. Here he opened a school and preached to a little flock of Presbyterians. Dr. Hutchinson says:

"Through the invitation of Dougal Torrey, whom he met in Natchez, he made a visit to the Scotch settlement in Jefferson County and preached for them and afterwards kept up a stated appointment in connection with his Natchez labors, though it necessitated a ride of thirty miles each way. A temporary bush arbor was erected, which was soon supplanted by a log house of worship. A considerable congregation was collected, a ruling elder, presumably Daniel Cameron, elected and the Ebenezer church organized. Dougal Torrey was a representative of four emigrant Presbyterian families, George Torrey, Dougal Torrey, Lockland Currie and Robert Willis, all of whom except Dougal Torrey, were born

in the highlands of Scotland before the Revolutionary War, but had settled for some years in North Carolina, where Dougal, son of George Torrey, was born. On March 30, 1805, these emigrants landed at Bruinsburg on the Mississippi River, and in the next year they purchased land and settled in the eastern portion of Jefferson County."

Dr. Hutchinson further says:

"The settlement of these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians on the border of an unknown wilderness of public land, just having been surveyed and offered at government prices, with the right of pre-emption to actual settlers, at once attracted numerous settlers, generally of the same race and religion. In a few years over one hundred Highland Scotch Presbyterian families settled in this vicinity. Most of them spoke the Gaelic language, had been taught the Shorter Catechism and the forms of worship and usages of the Presbyterian Church and were persons of elevated and devout piety."

According to Dr. Jones several of these old Scotch families were formed into another congregation as early as 1811, and were formally organized into a church March 2, 1817, by Rev. Joseph Bullen. This was the *eighth* Presbyterian Church organized in the Southwest. It received the name of *Union Church* and gave its name to the village of *Union Chucrh*, close by. This has been and is yet a healthy and prosperous church. It is noted for its long pastorates. In the ninety-one years of its existence two of its pastors have covered sixty-two years. One of them, Rev. William Montgomery, the only one of the first three missionaries sent from the Carolinas, who settled permanently in Mississippi, served the church twenty-seven years. The other, Rev. C. W. Grafton, D. D., the present pastor, has faithfully and acceptably served them since May, 1873. Scores of consecrated men and women, born and reared in this church, have gone forth to other and remote places; one of them, the son of the present pastor, is a missionary to China, and others no less faithful are filling their respective spheres elsewhere. At this time the church still has two hundred living members upon its roll.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERY IN THE SOUTHWEST.

We have now come to the period when there are four Presbyterian ministers and eight organized churches in the Southwest, seven of which churches are in the Mississippi Territory and one in Louisiana. They are in no particular Presbyterial jurisdic-

tion, and too remote from any to enjoy the full benefits of their patronage and oversight. The *general jurisdiction* of this region at this time was in the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, at least so held by that Synod which, according to Dr. Howe, contested its claim against the Synod of Kentucky in a memorial to the General Assembly. It was therefore probably a matter, not of jurisdiction but of nearer proximity, which led the ministers and representatives of these churches in Mississippi Territory to apply to the Presbytery of West Tennessee to petition the Synod of Kentucky to erect a Presbytery in the Southwest. This application was made by their representative, Rev. James Smylie, who, in 1814, traveled on horseback through the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations to Nashville, Tennessee where the Presbytery of West Tennessee was then in session, and laid the petition before that body. The following extract from the minutes of the Synod of Kentucky, as quoted by Dr. Jones, gives us a correct history of the transaction:

"The Committee of Overtures reported a petition from the West Tennessee Presbytery, praying that a new Presbytery might be formed having for its eastern boundary Perdido River, from thence by a direct line to Fort Jackson, at the junction of the Coosa and Talapoosa rivers; thence to the line of division between the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, and along the line indefinitely forming a division between the contemplated Presbytery and the West Tennessee Presbytery, to be known by the name of the Mississippi Presbytery, to be composed of Rev. Joseph Bullen, Rev. William Montgomery and Rev. James Smylie, which petition was granted (October 6, 1815), and it was ordered that said Presbytery hold its first meeting at Pine Ridge church in Adams County on the first Wednesday of March the next; and that Rev. Joseph Bullen, or in case of his absence, the senior member present, preside as Moderator."

In accordance with this action of the Synod of Kentucky we learn from the same author that the following ministers and ruling elders met at Pine Ridge Church March 6, 1816, and organized the Mississippi Presbytery, viz.: Ministers—Joseph Bullen, William Montgomery, Jacob Rickhow and James Smylie. Rev. Daniel Smith, who was laboring as a missionary at Natchez (where two years later he organized the first Presbyterian Church in that city), was also present as a corresponding member. Ruling elders present—John Grafton, of Pine Ridge Church; John Bolls, of Bayou Pierre, and Daniel Cameron, of Ebenezer.

The Presbytery of Mississippi, when organized, formed part

of the Synod of Kentucky. The movement of population and the expansion of the church involved certain changes in its subsequent relations. In 1817 it was associated with the Synod of Tennessee. In 1826 we find it placed upon the roll of the Synod West Tennessee. In 1829, in connection with other Presbyteries which appear to have been set off from its territory, it was erected into a Synod called the Synod of Mississippi and South Alabama. In 1835 three Presbyteries were set off from this growing Synod to form the Synod of Alabama, and from that time it is known as the Synod of Mississippi. God so prospered this Synod that in 1847 it became necessary to divide it again, and four more Presbyteries were set off to form the Synod of Memphis, and in 1851 three more of its Presbyteries were erected into the Synod of Texas. In 1852, out of a part of the territory ceded to the Synod of Memphis there was formed another Synod, the Synod of Arkansas, and again in 1901, three more of its Presbyteries were set off to form the Synod of Louisiana.

From this brief sketch it is seen that Mississippi owes a great debt of gratitude to the Carolinas for what, under the providence of God, they did to lay the foundation for pure evangelical religion within her borders. The principal missionary work done in the early and formative days of Mississippi, whether under Baptist, Methodist or Presbyterian auspices, was done through the missionary operations of these respective denominations in the Carolinas.

During the century which has elapsed since these noble first missionaries, Curtis of the Baptist, Gibson of the Methodist, and Hall, Bowman and Montgomery of the Presbyterian Church, were sent to the Natchez country by the Carolinas to collect the scattered sheep in the vast wilderness, the congregations so collected have steadily sent forth their saving influence, under the divine blessing, over the communities where they had been located and have poured forth to the regions beyond ten thousand streams of salvation to gladden the hearts of millions then unborn.



## A CHAPTER IN THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC OF 1878.

BY MRS. W. A. ANDERSON.<sup>1</sup>

Thirty years the lights and shadows have fallen over these fertile fields and softly swelling hills, then changed into a Death Valley. Most of those who wept so bitterly in those dark days have joined their loved ones where there are no more tears. A new generation has arisen to guide the affairs of this fair Southern land. A few remain who witnessed all this desolation, whose youth was clouded with gloom from that experience of sorrow and anxiety. Time mercifully throws a veil over the past, but they would transmit the story to their children's children as a record of magnanimity and self-sacrifice, only equaled by the suffering endured. Even the words, 1878, will bring a shiver of horror until life's latest day.

The scourge extended far up into West Tennessee, throughout Louisiana and Mississippi, touching many places in Arkansas and Alabama.

The history of one town is much like that of another, varying

<sup>1</sup> Helen Craft Anderson, the youngest child of Hugh Craft and Elizabeth Robinson Collier, was born in Holly Springs, Miss. Her father was a Marylander by birth. On a stretch of land, known as "Craft's Neck," about four miles from Vienna, Md., there are a number of houses built by members of the Craft family, which bear the dates of erection on the chimneys. Up to 1780, twenty-years before Hugh Craft was born, the name of this place appears to have been "Charlscraft," and as such appears on old deeds, dated 1699.

Hugh Craft was the owner of the fugitive slaves, William and Ellen Craft, who afterwards gained such notoriety as being among the first to escape from slavery. They went to Boston, where they were shielded from the law by Theodore Parker. They were extensively fitted out, and sent to London, Eng., where they became the proteges of Lord Brougham and Lady Byron, by whom they were well educated. They eventually drifted back to the South, after the war, and established there colored agricultural schools, the funds for which were mostly subscribed in Boston.

Hugh Craft, after spending his early married life in Georgia, came to Mississippi in 1839, in the employ of the American Land Co., and was among the pioneer settlers of Holly Springs. He built a home in 1852, which stands as it was then, and is occupied by his descendants to the fifth generation. Being large and centrally located this building was frequently used as headquarters for the Federal officers in the War of Secession. At the time of Van Dorn's famous raid in December, 1862, the Commandant of the Post was domiciled there, though he was captured on the outskirts of the town. The Federal officers gave their protection to

only in the length of time affected. Grenada and Holly Springs were perhaps the greatest sufferers, because the outbreak was earlier and more unexpected, and they were less prepared for defense against the disease.

These pages are the record of what took place in Holly Springs, and to those who lived through that dreadful season they are as fresh as though 'twere yesterday, coming back with painful distinctness with each recurring autumn. They are written from a familiarity with the place and people, and from two thrilling accounts published at the time. One of these is a pamphlet written by Mrs. John N. Craig, wife of the beloved pastor of the Presbyterian Church. The other is an article published in the *Youth's Companion* of April 3, 1879, under the title "The Yellow Plague of '78—a Record of Horror and Heroism," from the pen of Mrs. Kate McDowell, known in literature as Sherwood Bonner, author of *Dialect Tales* and other Southern stories. She came from Boston, where she was then living, to persuade her loved ones to go with her to a place of safety, and when her father and brother fell among the first victims she sent her child and the rest of the family away and heroically remained until the two so dear to her were in their graves, and pitying friends hurried her away. In most instances the exact words of these

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the family during the frightful days of the retreat of Grant's army, which followed this brilliant cavalry dash of the Confederates.

Mr. Craft was one of the substantial citizens of Holly Springs. He was especially active in everything that pertained to the educational interests of his community. His wife being a woman of culture and refinement, their home was noted for its hospitality and for the abundance of books, flowers and music.

The education of the youngest daughter, with that of Sherwood Bonner, author of *Dialect Tales*, was completed in 1866 under the direction of a daughter of Judge J. W. C. Watson, of Holly Springs. After teaching several years in the Huntsville (Ala.) Seminary, the subject of this sketch was married in 1880 to William Albert Anderson. Her husband taught for forty consecutive years in Holly Springs and is now City Clerk and Tax Collector of that municipality. Mrs. Anderson is deeply interested in Sunday-school work, having seen twenty-six years of continuous service as principal of the primary department in the Presbyterian Sunday-schools of the town. She has also taken great interest in the work of her literary club, of which she is now Vice-President. She has devoted much time to collecting and preserving facts pertaining to the history of Holly Springs. There is a tradition that the stately brick mansion in which Mr. and Mrs. Anderson live, formerly known as Chalmers' Institute, was erected with the expectation that it would become one of the buildings of the University of Mississippi at the time that Holly Springs was a formidable competitor for the location of that institution.—EDITOR.

two friends are used, being too graphic to change. Theirs was a bitter, sacred, and awful experience, and only those could do justice to these scenes who, fitted for it by knowledge, love, and sorrow, make it a living picture. It seems almost a duty to tell of "the golden deeds that shone through the darkness of that sorrowful time, like rifts of light that pierce a cloud bank."

Holly Springs is a pretty, wholesome town, situated near the Tennessee line. It took its name from the natural surroundings in the days of the Indian and the canebrake. It soon became the center of a refined society, noted for its schools, and sought for its healthfulness, built on high ground, set among hills, overrun with flowers. Here in comfort and contentment a population of some four thousand people found all that we are accustomed to hold dear in the name of home. Here all the attractions of village life, refined by social culture, abounded. No epidemic had ever visited the place, though epidemics had often raged in Memphis, fifty miles away. In the summer of 1878 the sun had burned with unwonted fierceness, after a winter extremely mild, but to this town it brought only blessed health. When news came of the alarming spread of yellow fever in Memphis and New Orleans, and other places began to bar their doors against terrified refugees fleeing, they knew not whither, so that the fatal plague might not reach them, the people of Holly Springs, declining to quarantine, became a society for relief. They gave of their abundance to assist their smitten neighbor, Grenada, eighty miles below on the same line of railroad, where fever had broken out with frightful violence. Such a passion of sympathy was aroused for these stricken ones that two of our young men, William Wooten and W. J. L. Holland, took their lives in their hands and visited the town when the pestilence was at its worst.

"They came back, telling a pitiful tale of their melancholy ride into the village and the scenes there witnessed—of burying the dead, in the night's darkness by the glare of the torchlight, of hasty graves dug at the very doorstep, or in gardens—of old men and little children dying alone—of one young girl, who, when hope was ended, and she too, alone, realizing the worst, dragged herself from the bed, and opening her bureau drawer, where her delicate underclothing was folded away, managed, when the weakness of approaching death was upon her, to dress herself in fresh linen before she fell lifeless upon the floor. All this melted hearts with pity."

The people here could talk or think of little else save these unfortunates. It now became a vital question whether we should quarantine or not. It was discussed at meetings of the city officials, and the town was divided against itself. There were a few who argued against opening the doors, but they were outnumbered by ardent and generous spirits and it was a sad coincidence that almost without exception those most eager to receive these homeless and plague stricken people, either fell themselves or suffered grievous loss in their families. Pointing to our exemption in the past they had no fear for the future, and if risk there were, they were willing to take it for humanity's sake. So it was almost with one voice that they said "Come." It may have been madness thus to tempt the destroyer, but it did not occur to them that the path of duty lay in any other direction.

In addition to a number who had some time before come here from Memphis, a little pitiful band of refugees from Grenada came to us, and with recklessness born of sympathy were taken to the very heart of the town, the unselfish Will Holland vacating his room for the men who were faithfully nursed, and cared for by our best and bravest.

"Sunday morning, August 25th, was announced with the usual chime of bells, calling the worshipers to the place of prayer. That morning they gave out a brief warning sound, but met no glad response, and only a few devout hearts bowed in the sanctuary. Groups of men stood here and there on the corners of the streets, where one who felt assured of safety tried to assure others whose confidence was shaken. Each face looked into every other face it met, and every sound of joy and hope was hushed in eager questioning for news. The very air, which seemed so health-giving, was filled with a solemn awe, and dread un-named fear possessed every heart, lest in the death of the refugee, who had been buried in the darkness of the night before, the seeds of the 'yellow death' had been sown."

Among those who had fled from Grenada was a beautiful young girl who was tenderly cared for at the home of Dr. McKie. She had seen father, mother, brothers, sister, and lover all die. After some days of stony grief she laid her poor young head upon the pillow where it soon rested in death. Kind hands tended her to the last. A minister, one of those noble men to whom the sacred name seemed most fit, was by her side when she asked for him, and at her burial, though it was night

and a misty rain added to the danger and gloom, a reverent band of young men stood with heads uncovered to see her body committed to the grave. It was a fatal step for them—the exposure to air already being poisoned, though they knew it not. Other deaths followed, but still there were no cases among our townspeople, though the existence of several cases of supposed bilious fever caused many citizens to leave town. Some read aright the warnings that came from day to day.

Late one evening the sky was lighted by a yellow glare, and with a gust of wind a peculiar and horrible odor was wafted through the town. A bonfire had been made of the clothing and bedding of the Grenada fever patients. Many at that moment felt their hearts die within them. "The pestilence is coming upon us," they murmured, but under their breath, for the sentiment of the town was against them. We know now, that refusing to quarantine was our first mistake; burning the bedding was the second, and as the smoke rolled in black volumes over the town, death lurked in every wave. As Sherwood Bonner says:

"All our prophets were Cassandras. You remember, it was her doom always to foresee calamity, but never to be able to arrest it, because her warnings were never believed."

On the 31st of August Col. A. W. Goodrich, one of the best known citizens, who had been Mayor of the town many years, died after a short illness, attended, the medical men said, by "suspicious circumstances." What this might mean even the boldest scarcely dared express. The very name of yellow fever was forbidden, and by some called "bilious derangement." He was buried two hours after death. Again quoting Sherwood Bonner:

"Everyone seemed eager to explain this quick burial, so opposed to all our ideas of Christian sepulture, by any cause but the right one. Again and again it was repeated that fever could not come to our high level, our pure atmosphere. We made a jest of fear; but a tremulous electric excitement agitated every heart, and was communicated from one to another. People collected in little groups on the streets, or at the gate of friends, chatting together nervously, and telling the latest rumor or bit of news. Someone said, scoffingly, "Colonel Goodrich no more had yellow fever than Dr. Craig has it." It was Dr. Craig who attended Miss Lake, the young girl from Grenada, in her mortal illness. It was said he had taken cold the stormy night when she was buried, and had not been well since. It was little dreamed that eight weeks from that

time he would just be able to creep from his bed, after a violent attack of the fever, saved by his indomitable will and the devoted care of his wife, whose beautiful spirit was a fit match for his own.

"Sunday, the first day of September, was a bright, beautiful day. Some friends visiting us showed us a list of thirty-five names of those stricken down within the last twenty-four hours. 'Stricken down with what?' we cried. 'It doesn't seem to be anything serious,' was the answer. They all have a chill, more or less violent, followed by a little fever. It is one-tenth sickness and nine-tenths scare."

"We were sitting out under the trees, I remember, and the birds were singing around us. The sun shone, the sky was blue, the breeze was pleasantly cool, and the flowers had never bloomed with such a wealth of color. The idea of pestilence here seemed something to smile at."

But the number of cases increased to forty, fifty, sixty, and death began to deal relentlessly. Hope gave way to terror. On the fourth day of September, yellow fever was declared epidemic in Holly Springs and the panic was complete.

"Men, women and children struggled in one mighty effort at the flight from the presence of an unseen foe. Trunks were packed hastily with such articles as came nearest to hand. The streets leading to the depot were crowded; while every available vehicle was filled with baggage and human beings in one confused rush of frantic fear lest the outgoing train should leave them, and every moment of detention had in it the tick of death."

The train was not allowed to stop here for fear of infecting the passengers from the South, and the march was therefore longer to a three-mile crossing.

"There was hurried clasping of hands that never hoped to touch each other again on this side of the River; wild farewells were spoken; tender embraces and many a fervent 'God bless you' given between friends beloved. There were tears of anguish, tears of parting, tears of bitter bereavement and heart-breaking sorrow, until the fountain of tears seemed dry; and in their stead a paralyzing terror reigned. The tenderest ties were sundered. Wives were hurried from the pale, cold forms of their husbands—hurried away in the despairing effort to save the dear little children. What a freight of mingled human emotions did that morning's train carry! While buggies, wagons—anything on wheels—hastened along loaded with those who for lack of money or other reasons could not get away by rail. I believe there is not a single instance where any of the sick said 'Stay.' The one effort, the one prayer, seemed to be that those untouched might escape while there was yet time."

So the town was left with the sick, the dying, the poor who could not leave, and the few who would not. Not a physician in town had ever seen a case of yellow fever before, and worked in blind ignorance; every one of them stayed and worked faithfully until taken himself. Of the first one hundred cases ten only survived. Within a few days doctors and nurses

came from New Orleans, and later from Texas and other places. They threw themselves with ardor into their work, and even then the residents thought the worst was over, for they could not realize that the pestilence could rage here as it had done in the cities and in Grenada.

To many in the fated town, realization was slow in coming. There was a strangeness about it all that made them say "It is impossible." It seemed a nightmare from which they must awake. They looked upon the sunshine and the flowers which fairly glowed with color; you could not count the blooms. The night air was as deadly as a foul mine, and few escaped who were exposed to its fatal miasma. Dogs and cats, with a few devoted exceptions among the former, left the place. Even rats and mice ran away, and the mosquitoes, which for weeks had been almost like a cloud in the air, entirely disappeared. Every day seemed instinct with dread.

One who remained for many weeks by the side of stricken friends thus writes:

"Nothing upheld me in that maelstrom of anguish and unutterable gloom but the Everlasting Arms. My children were gone, perhaps carrying with them the seeds of the fatal poison. It seemed to me that if my heart could break it would have broken that morning, when I led them to take what I then felt was the last look upon their father's face; clasped them, as I believed, for the last time on earth in my own arms, committed them to the care of my covenant-keeping God, and gave them into the hands of my dear friends. Every nerve became a living pain; fear and anguish alternated between hope and faith, while in the loneliness and gloom I seemed that night to be staggering upon the edge of a world that was fast slipping away from under my feet! My husband was very ill—no human voice could comfort me—no human power uplift my fainting heart."

Mrs. Craig was one of the few who remained well until the last, and her senses were fully alive to what was around her. She thus describes the fearful situation:

"Deep gloom gathered with the night, and seemed to be shutting us up in a vast prison-house of death. . . . The face of the next morning looked drearily down upon me as I sat by the open window, where, through the long hours of a sleepless night, I had gazed into the heavens whose very stars seemed to have gone out. The morning's rays fell upon a pestilence-stricken town. . . . The hurry and confusion of panic had ceased. There were no feet hurrying to and fro—only now and then someone could be seen, in anxious haste, in search of help or a physician, his speed increased by the sound of his own footsteps as it rang a hollow echo through the empty town. Every thoroughfare was silent; every store and shop and office and place of business was closed

except one drugstore. Not a sound of traffic was heard save at the undertaker's—where death made the demand and the ghastly articles of exchange were coffins. Whole streets had not a dwelling open. The express agent and the telegraph operator were gone. The postmaster and assistants were prostrate with fever; some of the resident physicians were sick, and those on duty were utterly unable to attend all the stricken. We were without experienced nurses, without supplies; cut off from a terror-stricken world without, and awaiting in mute dismay the horrors from which we shuddered, yet which stared us in the face as though exulting over our impotence to withstand them."

In this hour of dreadful extremity, when they seemed drifting upon a sea of uncertainty and despair, a few brave men met and organized a Relief Committee, with W. J. L. Holland, one of the editors of the *Holly Springs Reporter*, as chairman. In the confusion of the panic, one telegram had been sent out appealing for help, which met a prompt response from the Howard Association of New Orleans, and, on September the 5th, doctors and nurses, a telegraph operator, druggist, and assistants arrived. A hospital was established in the courthouse, and this timely aid, with the supplies and words of sympathy which began to pour in from all quarters, began to inspire new hope.

In all the land no niggard hand was found, and a nation's charity attested a nation's effort to succor the afflicted, and with the lesson thus taught came a clearer recognition of the generous impulse which always lavishes present help in time of need.

To quote again from Sherwood Bonner:

"At the beginning of the epidemic, a band of noble spirits, for the most part young men, decided not to leave the town. These were not among the number of those who had relatives or near ties to keep them at their posts. But the cry of humanity was to them like a bugle call to action. Simply, reverently, they made up their minds to stay. I choke with tears as I write, for few indeed are left to tell the tale. Death took them, one by one, the very cream and flower of our town. Yet I do not believe that among them all one ever said, 'I am sorry that I did not go away.' There was sore need of them and their services, and they only worked the harder as their ranks grew thinner. They parted at night with hard hand-grasps that meant 'Good-bye,' and told over their number each morning with heavy hearts, as one after another dropped out of that noble roll-call. No act of service was too hard for them. One true hearted youth, scarcely out of boyhood, conveyed food in a wheelbarrow from house to house through the burning sun. He lived but one week."

Daily the desolation deepened. In the streets there was no sound save perhaps the frantic clatter of a horse's hoof, as some one from the country rode in to implore the attendance of a doctor, or the rapid roll of the hearse wheels as a corpse, fol-

lowed by no mourners, was borne to its grave. Very ghastly and shocking were some of the scenes enacted day by day in each house where heartless hirelings, here only for gain, reveled in the very presence of death. The fatality extended among those seeking refuge in the immediate country, and in some instances only a few nearest relatives were present to turn the sod with their own hands.

Mrs. Craig writes:

"The plague had asserted itself throughout the entire town, and left absolute desolation in its track. There were no sounds of lamentation, for grief was beyond expression in voice or tears; no tolling of bells announced the lonely, unattended funerals, and a settled gloom seemed to have fallen upon every heart. At first there were a few friends who came at intervals to drop a word of cheer, but daily the number grew less; for a day one face was missing, then another, and the silence which followed where footsteps had been, told its own fearful story, until at length the town and its sufferers were entirely in the hands of strangers."

Many of these were indeed ministering angels, though there were some whose greed of gain overmastered the fear of God and man. Some offered as nurses only for money, and their patients suffered and died from sheer neglect, or worse, from gross mistreatment. Did space permit, it would be well to mention the names of those who stood so nobly by the side of stricken strangers, weeping tears of sympathy, when their skill no longer could avail, but it would be unjust not to hand down the names of a few to posterity. Prominent among those are Dr. Walter Baily and Dr. A. R. Gourrier, of New Orleans; Dr. R. M. Swearinger, of Texas, and Dr. J. W. Ross, of the U. S. Navy; Drs. Manning and Lewis, of Texas, who died during the first weeks. All these have the lasting gratitude of this people.

In the hospital where black and white often lay side by side, the nurses were the Sisters of Charity from the local Roman Catholic School, Bethlehem Academy. Like angels of mercy, they hovered over the loathsome spot day and night, caring not who the patient might be if only his life could be spared. One by one these sisters fell until six of them, with the faithful priest, Father Oberti, lay dead. A suitable monument marks the sacred spot with their names and this inscription:

"The Good Shepherd gives his life for the sheep."

On the walls of a ward in the hospital a physician who had watched her fidelity inscribed this tribute to Sister Corinthia:

"She needs no Parian marble,  
With white and ghastly head,  
To tell the wanderers in the valley  
The virtues of the dead!  
Let the lily be her tombstone,  
And the dewdrop, pure and white,  
The epitaph the angels write  
In the stillness of the night."

It can still be seen on the courthouse wall, and has been copied many times by sympathetic visitors.

"The world will never know all the horrors of this dreadful visitation which graced with the crown of martyrdom the fairest and best of a people whose labors and lives were given in the effort to save others. It only sees their characters in magnificent outline as they stood with sublime courage and dauntless self-sacrifice in the midst of dangers and terrors. Many of them were brave men, who had, 'mid dangers seen, pressed forward to the cannon's mouth; and there were timid, gentle women, whose heroism took its color from endurance, and whose lives received, through acquiescence in the divine will, a beauty and strength which they never had before.

"There were ministers of the Gospel here and elsewhere who went down to the very gates of death, fighting under the banner of the Prince of Peace, upon which is inscribed, 'We will die to save!' What sublime words were those of the Baptist minister, Haddick, who fell at Grenada. In the silence of his chamber, as he weighed death against life, he wrote, 'I came home because I felt it to be my duty to be in the midst of my afflicted, suffering and dying flock; I leave the result with God.' It pleased the Lord to call him higher up, as He did also the Presbyterian minister at Grenada, Dr. McCampbell. After weeks of watching and praying with the sick, he fell an easy prey to the fever, and was driven by a drunken hearse-driver to his grave."

The crown and climax of suffering in Holly Springs seemed to have been reached in that home across whose threshold within one week Colonel Walter and his three sons were borne to return no more. H. W. Walter was distinguished throughout the State for his brilliant eloquence, his large humanity, and his generous hospitality. He stood high as a soldier, as a lawyer, as a gentleman, and as a Mason.

"It was no new thing for Colonel Walter to make sacrifices, it was but the outbursting of that daily spring of action which had made him, for forty years, the friend of every man in the community. His piercing eyes through all these years had glowed with all the fire and enthusiasm of youth, upon every scene of pleasure; his thrilling voice had often kindled new hope in the breasts of his companions. His willing hand was ever ready to bestow substantial aid wherever it was needed. There was never a scene of joy or sorrow where he was not found, rejoicing

with those who rejoiced or weeping with those who wept. It is not strange that we find in this closing scene the grandest act of his life, as with a kindly smile, a cheery word and sympathetic touch, he moved amid the sick and dying, from the richest to the poorest; and then lay down himself to die with, and for, the people whom he loved."

"Perhaps no one went down to his martyr-hero's grave with more to live for than Frank Walter, his oldest son. He was so joyous, so filled with all the pride and hope of manhood's first ambition; life's brimming chalice was just touching his eager lips, and how natural that he shrank from the death whose terrible form so suddenly rose before him! Yet he faced it unflinchingly. He heard the cry of the sick stranger, and visited him, not from ambition to hear his name noised abroad, not from a reckless disregard for his own life, which an older, more careworn life might have had, but from pure humanity."

One day a friend said to him:

"You and Mr. F. should die right now, while your laurels are fresh. You will never be such heroes again."

He replied:

"I would rather be Frank Walter alive than a dead hero!"

There are those living to-day who can attest how he constantly preferred and accepted as his post of duty that which lay nearest to the foe—how he supported and rested upon his own bosom the forms of friends who tossed mid the raging madness of the fever. It was a touching sight when the noble father was laid to rest by his two sons, while a third lay dying at home. A week later these young lives, with all their hopeful brightness, also passed from the earth and two coffins were lowered together beneath the sod. A pale sufferer gazed from a sick chamber upon the scene, the only visible mourner, and mingled with tears for the dead, prayers for the heart-broken, widowed mother, who, with her little girls and the youngest son, had been sent to another State.

About the same time that the Walters died two other young men were taken whose loss to the town and to the State was irreparable. The "Falconer Brothers," as the law firm was known, were united in a love for each other rarely seen among men. Howard Falconer, known and honored and beloved by every one, eminent for his studious habits and social attractions, was the first to make the sacrifice, to risk his life and surrender it upon the altar of benevolence, by administering to the comfort and relieving the wants of strangers in distress.

Kinloch Falconer, the able and distinguished Secretary of State, had risen by gradations to this post of honor. He was the son of a prominent journalist, and after learning the printing business in his father's office, had been editor of the *Holly Springs Reporter* and Mayor of Holly Springs before beginning the practice of law. In 1868 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Mississippi, though not allowed to take his seat. He left Jackson as soon as he heard of the illness of his venerated father, and his own life was the price of that filial devotion.

On September 26th Mr. Holland's press dispatch read:

"The situation is growing worse. The two hospitals are full, and it looks as though every man must go down. After being recruited five times the relief committee numbered one. Five hundred persons now lie stricken with the fever, and there are yet five hundred more to take it; we pray for friends and frost."

By the end of the first week in October the fever began to die out for want of victims. Now, for the first time, there were as many nurses as were needed. Great destitution prevailed; the convalescents being without clothing or bedding, and the demand for provisions hard to supply. Mr. Holland now stood almost alone amid the wreck through which he had thus far been spared, and in a letter to a friend thus describes the situation at that time:

"The clerks in all departments, one by one, have fallen; all have had the fever, almost half of them have died. Of the relief committee, I alone am left of the first and second body. It has been recruited seven times, and still there are only three who have not had the fever and two of these are from New Orleans and acclimated. In one house, having twenty-seven inmates, all had the fever, eight died. In other families, there are none left save perhaps a lonely little orphan, whose tears would melt a heart of stone. In all this revel of disease and death it has been ours to witness some of the grandest examples of manly and womanly virtue possible to see. We have now but three or four citizens on duty, balance strangers."

But the end was not yet. The hero of the epidemic was yet to send one more telegram over the wires which had already quivered with so many messages of sorrow. No one but himself ever knew the struggle that went on in that heart, so brave to the last, as on October 19th he sent the following message:

"To-day there are six new cases and one death. Your correspondent happens to be one of the new cases, after having struggled with 'Yellow Jack' from the beginning of the epidemic. He desires, through you, in

the name of this people, to express our lasting gratitude to our friends in every part of the Union who have so generously and nobly contributed to us in so many ways."

With the same forgetfulness of self he continued to give directions for relief work until no longer conscious. On the morning of October 25th the first funeral notice that had appeared since the epidemic began announced:

"W. J. L. Holland, late chairman of the relief committee, departed this life at 2:30 A. M.; aged thirty-six years."

This young man, gentle, generous, popular, with everything to make life worth living, was a nephew of Commodore Maury, and was at the time of the epidemic editor of the *Holly Springs Reporter*. He took a place at once that no one else could fill. In that time of wild confusion and demoralization, his services were invaluable. It is no exaggeration to say that he saved the town from utter disaster. He never lost calmness or courage. He organized and disciplined his little band with exactness. He forgot nothing. The anxiety of the absent was remembered and relieved so far as letters and telegrams could do it. The money which poured in was judiciously used. Those who had buried their dead were persuaded to leave.

"He died as he had lived; bravely, cheerfully, regretting not that he had given his life, though confessing that it was hard to die. Verily the thought of such a death makes godlike the poor human nature we are accustomed to abuse."

He is buried in a beautiful lot in our cemetery, Hill Crest, and on the same lot the Press of Mississippi erected a simple but handsome shaft inscribed with the names of the six editors who fell in this State with the fever. They are: J. P. Allen, of the *Meridian Gazette*, at the time of his death editor of the *Vicksburg Herald*; Singleton Garrett, of the *Canton Mail*; O. V. Shearer, of the *New Orleans Times*; W. J. Adams, of the *Enterprise-Courier*, and Kinloch Falconer and W. J. L. Holland, of the *Holly Springs Reporter*. It was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies in June, 1880.

On November 1st the report went out:

"Four new cases, no deaths; heavy frost last night, and prospect of another to-night. The hospital was closed to-day. Many business houses are open."

Thus ended this chapter in the history of human woe. For eight weeks fourteen hundred souls struggled with the "yellow death," and three hundred and fifty graves tell who was the victor in the unequal strife. A heritage of sorrow fell upon Holly Springs, from which it has never recovered. A great gap in its citizenship tells that the places of those splendid young men who went to their death were never filled.

But their names will live in story long after those who mourned them have forgotten the burning pestilence in the realms of light.

## AARON BURR IN MISSISSIPPI.

BY BISHOP CHAS. B. GALLOWAY.<sup>1</sup>

The history of Aaron Burr, one of the most brilliant and magnetic of American statesmen, has a strange fascination. It fascinates because of its marvelous mingling of great promise and bitter disappointment, of splendid achievement and monumental failure, of high heroism and deep tragedy. From the loftiest heights he sank to the lowest depths. One day extravagantly admired and passionately followed, the next, he shrank from the scorn of the world, slunk into exile, was shadowed by detectives, suffered the extremest poverty, and died at a great age, without a tear for his loss or a flower upon his grave.

His life seems to violate every law of heredity. The gifted son of an accomplished minister of the gospel, the Rev. Aaron Burr, President of Princeton College, and grandson of the great Jonathan Edwards, he had a moral and spiritual inheritance that ought to have made him a saint and a sage. He breathed the pure air of a pious home, and drank knowledge from the fountains of sanctified wisdom. We wonder not at the brilliancy and masterful grasp of his intellect, but stand amazed at the utter bankruptcy of his moral character. We can easily account for the splendid qualities that made him a powerful personality and a magnetic leader, but are appalled at the atrophy of his conscience, the deadness of his spiritual perceptions and the pitiable weakness of his higher nature. He was a massive and majestic figure, with head of gold and arms of silver, but with feet of clay.

The history of no man in the public life of America contains such solemn warnings, and lifts so many danger signals. He failed to reach the presidency of this great nation by a single vote, and only lost the prize after days of balloting. At that time a president was elected in this way: The candidate having

<sup>1</sup> A sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IV. pp. 233-4. The State of Mississippi sustained a great loss in the death of Bishop Galloway, on May 12, 1909. An appropriate sketch of his life and services will be published by the Historical Society in the next volume of its Publications.—  
EDITOR.

the plurality was president and the one receiving the next highest number of votes was vice-president. In case of a tie the matter was thrown into the House of Representatives; and there it was necessary not to have a majority of votes but a majority of States. Burr had a majority of votes, but after twenty-nine ballots Jefferson secured a majority of States and was made president with Burr as vice-president. He was vice-president for one term, but lived to see the heart of the people turn completely from him, and the whole land regard the disappointment of his ambition as a providential deliverance.

Unable to secure a second term, and defeated for the governorship of New York, he sought revenge upon his political and bitter rival, Alexander Hamilton, whom he charged with his defeat, and saw him fall at the first fire of his duelling pistol.

"Both fell on the heights of Weehawken: Hamilton with a mortal wound in his breast, Burr with a mortal wound in his reputation."

The death of Alexander Hamilton was worse than death to Aaron Burr. The echo of that shot never died away. Every eye gazed at the blood stain upon his red hands, and the ghosts of the mighty dead made horrid the dreams of every restless night. From that day Burr was a reckless fugitive from conscience if not from justice, and pursued one dark scheme after another in the vain hope of regaining popular favor and recovering some little peace of mind.

He seems never to have genuinely loved but one human being, his beautiful and brilliant daughter, Theodosia, afterward the accomplished wife of Governor Alston of South Carolina. She was the only solace of his every sorrow, and the unfaltering friend of his every trial. And to the day of her tragic death she was the ardent lover and extravagant admirer of her marvelously gifted but strangely ill-fated father. The calamities that befell him and the scorn that pursued him only gave strength and pathos to the wealth of her affection.

Of his tender, fatherly devotion, a recent writer has beautifully said:

"If Aaron Burr had been one of the worst wretches the world had ever known, his exquisite sentiment of regard for this woman would have cast upon utter vileness an idealizing if not a redeeming light. As it was, romanticism enveloped even his fervors of fatherhood. He did not prize

and treasure his child in the ordinary fatherly way: he pedestaled her image within his soul as though it were the statue of a goddess, and he watched it through the perpetual incense-fumes of his own adoration."

Aaron Burr was twice married: first to Mrs. Prevost, the widow of a British officer, and again, when seventy-eight years of age, to Madam Jumel, a wealthy widow of New York. This last proved to be another in his long list of mistakes, and after a short time resulted in separation and divorce. But his amours were many, and to the last, with all his misfortunes and public execration, he never lost the exquisite, indefinable, irresistible graces and gifts that so attracted and magnetized the hearts of women.

Disappointed in ambition, baffled in every effort to regain popular favor, smarting under the opprobrium heaped upon him, yet conscious of his prodigious abilities, absolutely confident of his power to succeed, and with an imperial will that never yielded to discouragement or defeat, he determined to seek fame and fortune in other far off sections. His eager eyes were turned toward the Southwest, and he probably thought that conditions favored the easy conquest of Mexico and the establishment of another empire. He may have had visions of a crown and a throne, as some compensation for his loss of the presidency of the United States. Or he may have contemplated the dismemberment of the Union, with the States west of the Alleghenies as an independent republic. Just what were his plans, and how treasonable were his schemes, the silence of the grave will never disclose. But of one thing we may be sure, his ends were purely selfish and coldly ambitious. His lion like spirit defied any attempt to restrain his movements, and thirsted for prey and power.

Aided by the credit and credulity of Harman Blennerhassett, and supported by the counsels and financial endorsement of his son-in-law, Governor Alston of South Carolina, he fitted out a flotilla of boats and started down the river toward New Orleans. With his wonderful executive ability he soon had a formidable expedition, well organized and munitioned for some mysterious service. The wildest rumors were current as to the daring designs of the powerful leader, and the strength of his organization. The President of the United States issued a proclamation warn-

ing the people against the treasonable expedition, and General Wilkinson, commanding the department of the Southwest, dispatched the Hon. W. Burling to the City of Mexico to warn the viceroy of Aaron Burr's "powerful combination of lawless citizens" and his dark designs. Governor Williams being absent from the territory on an extended visit to North Carolina, the Hon. Cowles Mead, secretary, was charged with all the powers and duties of the governor of the Mississippi territory. He issued several proclamations, when definite news came of his near approach, summoned the militia to arms, and made ready to give the archtraitor and invader a hostile reception. Colonel Burr's flotilla of nine boats anchored across the river, opposite the mouth of Bayou Pierre, not very far north of Natchez. Governor Mead, with staff, repaired to the mouth of Cole's creek, January 15, 1807, and dispatched his aides, Hon. George Poindexter and Hon. W. B. Shields, to interview Colonel Burr. On the 16th they reached the bank of the river, opposite Colonel Burr's anchorage, and, in response to a signal a skiff was sent over for them. After some parley, Colonel Burr, sneering at the report of his treasonable designs, stated his willingness to submit to the civil authorities, and proposed an interview with Colonel Mead the next day at some convenient point. He stipulated further, "that his personal safety should be guaranteed, and that he should be returned to his boats if the governor should not accept his terms; that his boats and men should hold the position they then occupied until the conference was concluded; that in the meantime they should not be molested, nor should any breach of the peace, on either side, be committed." The proposition was accepted and the place of meeting appointed.

The interview was held at the home of Mr. Thomas Calvit, near the mouth of Cole's creek, where the territorial military was stationed in command of Colonel Claiborne. Governor Mead made the following proposition to Colonel Burr, and required an unequivocal answer within fifteen minutes, with the understanding, of course, that if he declined Burr should be returned to his boats and then take the consequences:

- (1) That the agreement entered into should be annulled.
- (2) That Burr should surrender unconditionally to the civil authorities,

and be conducted forthwith to the town of Washington, the seat of government of the territory.

(3) That his boats should be searched, and all arms and munitions of war found therein be seized and submitted to the disposition of the government.

The terms were accepted, and Colonel Burr, under military escort, started at once to the little territorial capital, not many miles away. There were few guns found on the boats, but in anticipation of capture all the arms had doubtless been lowered into the river. Colonel Burr was admitted to bail in the sum of five thousand dollars, with Col. Benjamin Osman and Lyman Harding, Esq., as securities for his appearance at a special session of the superior court to be held on the 2d of February.

During the period of his release, and as the honored guest of Colonel Osman, a wealthy planter and an old friend of Revolutionary fame, Burr made diligent use of his opportunities to win friends for himself and his cause. He became a social hero, and aroused so much active sympathy and even enthusiasm in his behalf as to alarm the territorial authorities.

When the court was organized and the grand jury impaneled, the Hon. George Poindexter, attorney-general, moved that the jury be discharged, on the ground that the prisoner at the bar was not charged with any offense against the laws of the Mississippi territory but of the United States, and that the territorial judges should convey the accused to a tribunal competent to try and punish him, if guilty of the crimes alleged. Colonel Burr opposed the motion, and, with consummate adroitness, remarked that, if the attorney-general had no business for the grand jury, he had, and argued that it should not be dismissed. On this motion the court was divided, Judge Bruin opposing the discharge of the jury without at the same time releasing Colonel Burr.

So magnetic was the archdeceiver, and so powerful his personality, that he not only disarmed prejudice but made active partisans of avowed enemies. He seemed to hypnotize the little territorial capital; and the honorable men summoned as a grand jury became so fascinated by his presence, and were so convinced by his persuasive speech that they not only refused to present an indictment against the suspected traitor, but actually rebuked the acting governor and military authorities for his arrest. That

report, presented to the superior court February 4, 1807, is of sufficient historic importance and curious interest to be reproduced entire:

"The grand jury of the Mississippi territory, on a due investigation of the evidence brought before them, are of the opinion that Aaron Burr has not been guilty of any crime or misdemeanor against the laws of the United States or of this their territory, or given any just occasion for alarm or inquietude to the good people of this territory.

"The grand jury present as a grievance the late military expedition, unnecessarily, as they conceive, fitted out against the person and property of said Aaron Burr, when no resistance had been made to the ordinary civil authority.

"The grand jury also present as highly derogatory to the dignity of this government the armistice (so called) concluded between the secretary, acting as governor, and the said Aaron Burr.

"The grand jury also present as a grievance, destructive of personal liberty, the late military arrests made without warrant and, as they conceive, without other lawful authority: and they do seriously regret that so much cause should be given to the enemies of our glorious constitution to rejoice in such measures being adopted in a neighboring territory as if sanctioned by the executive of our country, which must sap the vitals of our political existence, and crumble this glorious fabric in the dust."

For this partisan impertinence the grand jury received a sharp rebuke from Judge Rodney, presiding over the court, and were promptly discharged. But Judge Bruin, his associate on the bench, declined to believe that Burr had any treasonable designs and made no attempt to conceal his sympathy for the brilliant schemer. The *Natchez Herald* of May 6, 1807, in commenting upon the trial in the town of Washington, asserts that Burr and his men were caressed by a number of wealthy merchants and planters of Adams County; several balls were given to them as marks of respect and confidence; none of his men were confined until after the trial before the superior court; that the proceedings against the accused were more like a "mock trial" than a criminal prosecution; that during the trial Judge Bruin appeared more like his advocate than his impartial judge, as he ought to have been; and that both before and on the day of his trial he advocated his cause as a laudable and just one.

As Burr was not released by the court, and fearing to fall into the hands of the United States authorities, he determined to forfeit his bond and take refuge in flight. To this course he was counseled and assisted by his friend, Colonel Osman, and

others. So on the stormy night before the appointed day of his next appearance in court, he was mounted on a favorite and fleet horse of his host, and started in the direction of Mobile. But instead of making an early flight and placing a distance between himself and his pursuers, he lingered in a cottage near Colonel Osman's until near dawn. The occasion for that delay furnishes another romantic episode in the kaleidoscopic life of this remarkable wrongdoer. For these interesting facts we are indebted to Colonel Claiborne, the historian, of Mississippi.

Colonel Osman, in whose home Burr spent the days of waiting pending the judicial determination of his case, lived at what is known as the Half-way Hill. Situated on the summit of the hill was a modest, vine-covered cottage, where dwelt a widow from Virginia and her rarely beautiful daughter, Madeline. She was an only child and a "miracle of beauty." Into the innocent ear of that lovely maiden Aaron Burr, with bewitching eloquence, poured the story of his love. She was charmed and enchain'd by the sorcery of his smooth, persuasive speech, and the heart that had never been touched before could not resist his magic power. Against all the promptings of reason and her better nature she yielded her hand to his and gave him the covenant and pledge of her innocent heart. That night, after leaving Colonel Osman's, he stopped at the cottage and implored the beautiful maiden to accompany him in his flight. He promised marriage, fortune, fame, and even "hinted at imperial honors," but the pure and proud-spirited girl successfully resisted. She had given him her heart and purposed to keep that pledge inviolate, but could not compromise the purity of her stainless character. The accomplished deceiver never returned, of course, and sorrow never entirely went out of poor Madeline's heart. Claiborne thus concludes the romantic story:

"She was wooed by many a lover. The young and gallant masters of the large plantations on Second creek and St. Catherine's strove in vain for her hand. Fortunes and the homage of devoted hearts were laid at her feet, but the maid of the Half-way Hill remained true to her absent lover; the more so because of the rumors that reached her of his misfortunes and his guilt. She lived on the recollection of his manly beauty, and the shades he had most affected were her constant haunts. At length when he had fled from the United States—when he had been driven from England, and was an outcast in Paris, shivering with cold and starving for bread—he seems to have felt, for the first time, the utter hopelessness of his fortunes. And this he wrote to Madeline, and, in

a few formal words, released her from her promise, and advised her to enter a convent should she survive her mother. A year or two after this she went to Havana with Mrs. W., a lady of large fortune. Her extreme beauty, her grace and elegance, produced the greatest enthusiasm. The hotel was besieged. If she appeared on the balcony, a dozen cavaliers were ready to salute her. When her volante was seen on the Paseo or the Plaza de Armas, it was escorted by the grandees of the island. She was feted by the governor-general; serenades and balls followed in rapid succession, and the daily homage to her beauty never ceased until the evening bells sounded the Angelus.

"Without surrendering her heart, or being carried away by this universal admiration, she returned to the cottage on the Half-way Hill. She was followed there by Mr. K., an English gentleman, the head of the largest commercial house in Havana, and to him, on his second visit, she gave her hand."

The cottage home of the fair Madeline has long since crumbled to dust, but around the old hill, and the little village not far away, traditions of those exciting days vividly linger, and will never die. I have recently had the long coveted privilege of a visit to the now almost "deserted village," but once brilliant territorial capital of Mississippi—old Washington, six miles east of Natchez. The days of its splendor are gone, but the wealth of its memories abide. Its once thronged streets are now country roads, and the palatial mansions and spacious hotels and assembly halls and territorial offices are mostly in ruins. The building in which Aaron Burr was arraigned for trial no longer stands. A few magnificent old homes, in which beauty reigned and chivalry reveled and boundless hospitality was dispensed, remain as memorials of those wonderful days when fortunes sprang out of the earth and every lord of the manor seemed to carry an Aladdin's lamp.

The escape of Burr created the wildest excitement. Governor Williams, having returned to the territory only the evening before, offered a reward of two thousand dollars for the apprehension and delivery of Aaron Burr, either to himself in Washington, or to the Federal authorities of the United States. A troop of cavalry was sent out in search of the fugitive, and news of his flight was dispatched in every direction. Accompanied by Maj. Chester Ashley, Burr was attempting to reach the residence of Colonel Caller, near Mobile, who was known to be inimical to the Spaniards of Florida, and who had been anxious for their expulsion from Mobile. Colonel Burr's disguise betrayed him. His dress, which was conspicuous, and

even affectedly shabby, was in too great contrast with the remarkable fine horse he rode, and the distinguished manners he could not conceal. Captain Gaines, the commanding officer at Fort Stoddard, being informed that suspicious travelers were in the neighborhood, took with him a file of men and easily accomplished his arrest. Under a strong escort the mysterious prisoner was conducted to the seat of the national government, and was, after a time, tried for treason in the city of Richmond, Chief Justice Marshall presiding, and John Randolph of Roanoke as foreman of the jury.

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow this extraordinary man beyond the province of Mississippi. His technical acquittal, but his national, if not universal, condemnation; his escape to England, from whose shores he was soon expelled; his dwelling in Paris, ostracized by all Americans and suspected by the French government; the depth of his poverty, subsisting for days on a few potatoes; his return to the United States and the practice of his profession in the city of New York, and his unhonored death at the age of eighty years, are all written in the chronicles of his time. They are the closing chapters of a tragic history—a history we cannot forget, but would willingly let die.

Aaron Burr was a bold and bad man; able, ingenious and restless; without conscience or scruple, and innocent of principle or high purpose. To accomplish his sinister ambitions he had no friend he would not betray, and no word of honor he would not violate. His diseased desire for place and power made him deaf to the voice of sound reason and blind to the visions of moral beauty. His extraordinary genius must always deny him oblivion, but he will never be remembered in order to be emulated. We can but admire his almost peerless abilities, but must forever deplore his strange moral delinquencies. No fond father will ever point to him as a model for his son. He lives in history, but he lives as a warning and not for our nation's adoring.



## JEFFERSON DAVIS AT WEST POINT.<sup>1</sup>

BY WALTER L. FLEMING.<sup>2</sup>

### ADMISSION TO WEST POINT.

During the twenties of the last century West Point had the reputation of being the best scientific school in America, and thousands applied for admission who had to be refused. Not more than one-thirtieth of the applicants received appointments, which were at that time made by the Secretary of War without reference to congressmen and senators. The number of cadets was not strictly limited, but ranged from 225 to 275, roughly apportioned among the States in proportion to population. At that time there were no competitive examinations for appointment. The good reputation of the school was largely due to the work of Major Sylvanus Thayer, who became superintendent in 1817, and at once began to reorganize the school upon French lines, the famous Ecole Polytechnique being the model. Before Thayer's time the school had a bad reputation; in the opinion of

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<sup>1</sup>For much of the material upon which this paper is based I am indebted to Dr. Edward S. Holden and Mr. W. L. Ostrander of the United States Military Academy Library; Capt. F. W. Coe, Adjutant of the Post, West Point; Col. John Biddle Porter, acting Judge Advocate General United States Army, and the authorities of the Library of Congress. Hon. Stephen B. Elkins, of West Virginia, and Hon. Murphy J. Foster, of Louisiana, have given me valuable assistance in collecting documentary material.

<sup>2</sup>Walter Lynwood Fleming, son of William LeRoy and Mary Love (Edwards) Fleming, was born in Brundidge, Ala., in 1874. He received the B. S. degree from the Alabama Polytechnic Institute in 1896. He then served as instructor in history, English and mathematics, while completing his master's course in that institution. He was assistant librarian in the same institution in 1897-8, when he enlisted in the Spanish-American War. A year later he resumed the position which he had resigned in order to enter the army. In 1902-3 he was lecturer in history in Columbia University. The year following he became professor of history in the University of West Virginia, which position he held until 1907. Since that time he has been professor of history in the Louisiana State University. Prof. Fleming has edited *Documents Relating to Reconstruction*; also a *Documentary History of Reconstruction* (2 volumes). In connection with L. D. Wilson, he has published a *History of the Ku Klux Klan*. He has written a volume entitled *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* and has contributed articles to the *Encyclopædia Americana*, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and *Nelson's Encyclopædia*. He is now engaged in research in the Social and Economic History of the United States, especially of the Southern States.—EDITOR.

many it was a place where young men were "trained to vice and the army."<sup>3</sup> But in Davis' time the changed character of the school was becoming widely known and appointments were never refused.

Jefferson Davis was appointed a cadet by John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War under Monroe. The appointment was dated March 11, 1824, but Davis did not learn of it until late the next summer, after he had completed the final examinations of the junior class at Transylvania University. His father died July 4, 1824, and Joseph Davis, his oldest brother and guardian, considered him too young to take his degree at Transylvania and start out for himself in the rough Southwest, so he advised the acceptance of the appointment. Jefferson consented to go to West Point for one year, expecting to go afterwards to the University of Virginia. This decision was arrived at after considerable hesitation and correspondence between Jefferson, who was in Lexington, Kentucky, and his relatives in Mississippi. In consequence he was delayed and reached West Point the latter part of September, too late to enter regularly with the class.<sup>4</sup>

But through the kindness of Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock, an old friend of the Davis family, then stationed at the Military Academy, young Davis secured a special examination. The only requirements then insisted upon for admission were an acquaintance with the principles of arithmetic, the ability to read well, and to write. Until 1866 no change was made in the entrance conditions. In these subjects the candidates were as well prepared as those of to-day, when less attention is paid to the fundamentals.<sup>5</sup> But of the lack of preparation shown by some of the candidates one may judge from a recommendation of the Board of Visitors, made the year after Davis entered, that "after 1828 no cadet be admitted to enter who does not understand English Grammar and Geography."<sup>6</sup>

Davis, who had had good training at Transylvania, was well prepared in algebra, geometry, Latin, Greek, etc., but, curiously

<sup>3</sup>Mitchell: *Life of O. M. Mitchell*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup>Davis: *Memoir*, Vol. I, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup>Church: *Personal Reminiscences of West Point from 1821-1831. West Point Centennial*, p. 228.

<sup>6</sup>American State Papers, *Military Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 382.

enough, had no knowledge of arithmetic. Captain Hitchcock was quite alarmed when he learned this and began to coach Davis in arithmetic. But no time was allowed for this and the candidate was at once called before the academic board. Charles Davies, the well known text-book writer, then professor of mathematics, asked some questions about fractions, which Davis, through his knowledge of algebra, managed to answer and thus created, as he tells us, the impression that he was familiar with the subject. Then Berard, the French professor, undertook to examine him in French, but finding that he could read Greek, delightedly questioned him in that subject until the time for the examination was consumed. Davis was admitted largely on his Transylvania record, but, as he said later, he never afterward had much confidence in examinations as a method of finding what a person knew.<sup>7</sup>

#### WEST POINT 1824, 1826.

The West Point to which Davis came was not the West Point of to-day. Not a single building of that time is standing, and the grounds themselves have been greatly changed and improved. But the iron hills around and the majestic river are unchanged and make the same impression upon the new cadet from the Southern low countries that they did eighty-three years ago upon Jefferson Davis.

The grounds were almost in a state of nature, except that the rough, rocky plain was bare of trees; rough foot paths instead of walks twisted over it; near the buildings were two ponds which furnished skating in winter, a new sport to most Mississippians, but which Davis had learned in Kentucky. The summer encampment was in the same place as now, but just north of it was a hollow, since filled in, known as "Gallows Hollow" from Revolutionary times, when Benedict Arnold commanded here and plotted to betray this gateway of the Hudson. Pumps in wells and springs about the grounds supplied water for the cadets until 1826, when a water system was introduced. New York still claimed jurisdiction over West Point, and through the grounds ran a public road, which the State refused to allow to be

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<sup>7</sup> Davis: *Memoir*, Vol. I, pp. 33-36.

closed. On the south side was a fence and a gate to shut out the cows belonging to Gridley, the hotel keeper. The rough woods came down nearly to the Academy grounds, and among the rocky hills were scattered the ruins of the forts, the decaying huts of the soldiers, and the lonely graves of the Revolution.<sup>8</sup>

Scattered over the face of the plain were the cottages occupied by instructors and traders, and six larger buildings, the Long Barracks, or Bombardier Barracks, occupied by a detachment of troops; the hotel kept by one Gridley; the North Barracks and South Barracks; the Mess Hall, and the Academy. There were also a barber shop, sutler's store, and a fruit and candy shop. At Gridley's hotel, or "Old Grids," where the cadets stopped until admitted to the Academy, Davis stayed during the week before his admission and had the pleasure of sleeping "three in a bed." A year later Gridley's was purchased by the government and became the cadet hospital. The Mess Hall was a long two-story stone building, the upper story of which was used by the drawing department. On the lower floor was the dining-room. There were no table cloths and only tin and iron tableware on the long bare tables. The seats were wooden benches, which in the rush to and from meals the mischievous cadets delighted in kicking over. The Academy building contained the Adjutant's office, the library, recitation rooms for engineering, philosophy, chemistry and drawing, and the chapel, a long, narrow hall in which the cadets read and nodded during the long sermons of Mr. Picton, the chaplain during the session of 1824-5. The chapel was also used for dances and concerts. In North and South Barracks were the cadet quarters. The cadets were assigned to quarters by companies, not according to class, and cadets of different classes usually roomed together. For two years Davis roomed in No. 19 South Barracks, a three-story stone building. This room was about eleven feet square, which is about one-third the size of the present quarters, and in it three cadets were usually placed. The names of only two of Davis's room-mates are known, A. G. W. Davis, of Kentucky, and Walter B. Guion, of Mississippi. For furniture there were one

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<sup>8</sup>Mansfield: *Personal Memories*, pp. 59, 74; Latrobe: *West Point*, p. 15; Church: *Personal Reminiscences*; *Reports of Boards of Visitors, 1825-1828*.

small table, three chairs, and shelves for books at the side of an open fireplace. All this furniture was supplied by the cadets themselves. Over the fireplace was a rack for three muskets and accoutrements. At night three narrow mattresses were spread upon the floor. Water for drinking and bathing, the cadets brought from the spring, and there were no bath tubs. The fire was fed by wood from huge wood boxes kept in the halls. South Barracks was considered very cold in winter, and often the cadets in No. 19 sat at study wrapped in their blankets, feet upon fender. Fire was kindled in the morning from a tinder box, and it is a matter of record that this tinder box was often not to be found when most needed.

During the last two years, 1826–1828, Davis roomed in North Barracks, a four-story stone building, but the number of the room is not known. The quarters here were larger, each room being about eighteen feet square and divided by a thin partition into a bed room and a study. Four or five cadets roomed together. The furniture and beds were the same as in South Barracks. In the barracks each floor was called a "stoop," a designation still used in the dormitories in the University of Alabama, where Captain Huse, a friend of Davis, organized a military department before the Civil War.<sup>9</sup> Such was the environment in which the young Mississippian spent four years of his life, from seventeen to twenty-one, and here he formed habits of mind and developed inclinations that were of influence in his later life.

#### DAVIS'S COURSE OF STUDY.

The course of study at West Point was the best offered in America in applied science and mathematics. There were nine hours a day of recitations, five days in a week for four years, and these recitations were rigorous. During the first year the studies were mathematics, six hours a day, and French, three hours; in the second year the work was the same except that

<sup>9</sup> Latrobe: *West Point*, pp. 4–10; Church: *Personal Reminiscences*; Berard: *Reminiscences of West Point*; Boynton: *History of West Point* (pictures), I. In the West Point Centennial volume are pictures of the buildings. Manuscript records of the court of inquiry held in 1826 to investigate the great riot, contain a mass of information relating to barrack regulations and customs.

drawing alternated with French; the third year subjects were natural philosophy, five hours a day; "chemical philosophy," two hours, and drawing, two hours; in the last year the cadets studied engineering five hours, chemistry two hours, and constitutional law, ethics, rhetoric, etc., two hours. This course of study, organized by Major Thayer, has remained essentially unchanged.<sup>10</sup>

By the time Davis entered Thayer had in working order his new methods of dividing classes into sections with constant transfer from one to another, according to preparation and ability of the students; of grading on a basis of 3(3, 2.5, 2, 1.5, 1, 0) and promotion according to numerical standing. In mathematics, the basic study of the course, Davis's teachers were Professors Charles Davies, E. C. Ross and D. H. Mahan. West Point had just given up English texts and methods and modeled the course in mathematics upon that of the Ecole Polytechnique, the mother of West Point. The French texts were especially good and had been introduced into West Point by Claude Crozet, who was at West Point a few years before Davis entered. He and Thayer introduced the use of the blackboard into America, and with it the system of analysis and demonstration instead of lecture and model.<sup>11</sup> Crozet had been one of Napoleon's officers, had taught at the Ecole Polytechnique and had brought his drawings and texts with him to West Point. He is known as the "parent of Descriptive Geometry in America." Charles Davies, who had studied under Crozet, succeeded to his methods and did more than any other man to extend and popularize in America the French system of mathematical instruction. His series of texts are still widely used. But the texts used then by Davies were French—Lacroix's *Algebra and Calculus*, Legendre's *Geometry and Trigonometry*, and Biot's *Analytic Geometry*, which was not displaced for sixty years, though it was translated. Surveying and Conic Sections, Shades and Shadows were given in lectures. It is entertaining to read the reports of the board of visitors who witnessed the

<sup>10</sup>Polk: *Polk*, I, p. 55; Mansfield: *United States Military Academy*, p. 29; Richardson & Clark: *College Book*, p. 216; Church Personal Reminiscences, Boynton: *History of West Point*.

<sup>11</sup>The blackboard had been used in 1802 by Baron, a West Point teacher, but it had gone out of use.

examination of Davis's class. They were greatly impressed by the constant use of the blackboard, by Descriptive Geometry and the "doctrines of perspective shades and shadows." The teachers of the new learning were enthusiastic, and developed the work so well that little change has been made in some of these courses. Davies, known to the cadets as "Old Tush," on account of his projecting front teeth, was a clever, logical instructor, the first popular teacher of his subject in this country. Ross, who taught Davis when he was in one of the lower sections, was considered a fine teacher, in spite of the fact that he could not explain a proposition; it is said of him that "when he commenced to explain he would twist and wiggle about from one end of the board to the other, pulling his long whiskers and spitting out in inordinate volumes his tobacco juice." But he could put the proposition on the board, and by a most effective Socratic series of questions bring out the points. Davis liked Mahan better than either Davies or Ross, and long kept up a correspondence with him.<sup>12</sup> Davis was fond of having a good time, and devoted less attention to study at West Point than he had done at Transylvania. In mathematics his standing at the January examination in 1825 was 54 in a class of 91; in June, 1825, he stood 43 in a class of 66, with a grade of 103 out of 200, the value of the subject; in January, 1826, he stood 34 in a class of 54, and in June, 1826, he made a final standing of 33 in a class of 49, with a grade of 154 out of 300.

In French, a subsidiary subject of the first and second years, his standing was better. Claudius Berard was professor of French, and used his own French Grammar. Davis read *Gil Blas* and Voltaire's History of Charles XII. The object of the course was to give a reading knowledge of the language in order that the cadets might be able to use the French texts in mathematics, Philosophy and Engineering. In January, 1825, Davis stood 19 in a class of 91; in June, 1825, 18 in a class of 66, with a grade of 83 out of 100 maximum. In January and June, 1826, he stood 16 in a class of 49, with a grade of 78 out of 100 maxi-

<sup>12</sup>Church: *Personal Reminiscences*; Mansfield: *West Point*, pp. 32, 43, 44; Smith (F. H.): *West Point*; Cajori: *Teaching and History of Mathematics*, pp. 103, 114, 118, 122; *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. III, pp. 144, 160, 637; Manuscript records at West Point. Mohon was the father of Captain A. T. Mohon, the noted writer on naval subjects.

mum. Davis learned enough French to enable him to use scientific books printed in that language. He could understand the French dialect spoken in the Northwest, and when in prison after the Civil War he managed to converse in French with his fellow prisoner Clay, much to the annoyance of Miles, who did not understand the language. But when he visited France in the seventies a French newspaper writer declared "he stumbles much in our language."

In drawing (human figure), another subsidiary subject, he stood 23 in a class of 54 in January, 1826, and by June had climbed to the rank of 15 in a class of 49, with a grade of 52 out of 100 maximum. The next year, in landscape and topographical drawing, he stood lower, ranking, in January, 1827, 39 in a class of 43, and in June, 33 in 37, with a final grade of 41 out of 100 maximum. The board of visitors in 1826 reported that the cadet drawing "surprised the committee," but evidently Davis was not the cause of the surprise.<sup>13</sup> But in spite of low grades he evidently learned something of form and proportion, for as long as he lived he took keen delight in good drawings, paintings, sculpture and architecture, and when in Europe he hung over the artistic treasures of the galleries and museums until his friends were wearied.<sup>14</sup>

In natural philosophy, embracing mechanics, physics, astronomy, electricity and optics, Davis was taught by Professor Jared Mansfield, an enthusiastic teacher, but old and nearsighted, a failing that the cadets often took advantage of. The course was then, as now, considered the most difficult, and the texts were imperfect. The principal texts were Gregory's *Mechanics*, called "Old Greg" by the cadets, "a collection of rules rather than an exposition of principles," Enfield's *Institutes on Physics*, "an imperfect work," and Newton's *Principia*, called the "special pet of Mansfield." There was very little apparatus, but Mansfield was a good teacher even of unruly cadets.<sup>15</sup>

Davis was greatly interested in the work, but took a low stand—29 in a class of 43 in January, 1827, and 33 in a class of 37 at the following June examination, with a grade of 130 out of 300.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 372.

<sup>14</sup> Miss Winnie Davis: *New York Herald*, August 11, 1895.

<sup>15</sup> Cajori, p. 160; Church Reminiscences, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 160; Mansfield: *West Point*, p. 33; Mansfield-Personal Memories, pp. 48, 59, 64, 71.

<sup>16</sup> Records at West Point.

In chemistry Davis was taught by Dr. Torrey, an army surgeon, and A. D. Bache, a cadet assistant. Bache was one of the cadet assistant professors who were paid ten dollars a month extra, had double rows of buttons on their coats and were allowed the privilege of keeping servants to bring wood and water, build fires, etc. The work was mainly by lectures with a few experiments. One of Davis's warmest friendships was with Bache, who, in 1842, became Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey. Davis declared that Bache "had a power of demonstration beyond that of any man I ever heard," and that he could explain the most difficult problems in science to one of good understanding, but of utter ignorance about the subject.<sup>17</sup> In mineralogy, Lieutenant Prescott was the instructor. There was no cabinet of minerals except Dr. Torrey's own small collection. The cadets soon found that in class work Prescott called upon the cadets to recite in alphabetical order, so they were always prepared. Cleveland's was the text used in mineralogy, and Webster's in chemistry. Davis's standing in the combined subjects was 23 in a class of 43 in January, 1827, and 22 thereafter, with grades of 55 out of 100 maximum in 1827 and 116 out of 200 maximum in 1828.<sup>18</sup>

The third principal subject, coming after mathematics and philosophy, was engineering, embracing civil and military engineering and architecture. David B. Douglas, afterward chief engineer of the Croton waterworks in New York City, was the professor, and was assisted by D. H. Mahan and A. D. Bache. By both of these assistants Davis was taught during most of his course in these subjects. Douglas, like Ross, could not talk well, so he used the new invention, the blackboard. The texts were Gay de Vernon's *Science of War* and Sgonzin's *Civil Engineering*, both introduced from the Ecole Polytechnique by Crozet. Both were in French, but for each there was a "pony,"—wretched translations full of mistakes which caused failures. The de Vernon "pony" was sold at \$20. Stone cutting, and shades and shadows were given in lectures by Douglas. In engineering and the science of war, Davis stood 25 in a class of

<sup>17</sup> Davis: *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 38.

<sup>18</sup> Records at West Point; Church; *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 160.

34 at the January and June examinations in 1828, with a grade of 174 out of 300 maximum.<sup>19</sup>

In the light of later history one of the most important courses was the miscellaneous selection of subjects offered by the Chaplain, Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, later Episcopal Bishop of Ohio. The Chaplain was required by the regulations to preach in the chapel on Sunday and "to conduct the cadets through a course of geography, descriptive, physical and statistical; of history, universal and of the United States, in particular; of moral philosophy and the elements of natural and political law," in addition to grammar, rhetoric and political economy. Of course all this could not be done in one year, so in Davis's fourth year he studied under McIlvaine grammar, rhetoric, ethics, and constitutional law. His standing in these subjects was 13 in a class of 34, with a grade of 146 out of 200 maximum, the highest stand that he made in the four years' course. Paley's *Moral Philosophy* was thoroughly taught, and Murray's *English Grammar* was disposed of in thirty-page lessons. Kent's *Commentaries*, just then out, were eagerly read by the cadets, but a more interesting text used at West Point about this time (introduced in Davis's last year, he says) was *Rawle on the Constitution*. Rawle was a Pennsylvania judge, and his book was a standard authority on the Constitution until Storey's *Commentaries* were published in 1833. In view of Davis's later career it is of interest to know that Rawle taught without hesitation or qualification the doctrine of state sovereignty and constantly insisted upon the fact that "the secession of a State from the Union depends on the will of the people of such State." The following extracts are taken from Rawle's text:

If a faction should attempt to subvert the government of a State for the purpose of destroying its republican form, the national power of the Union could be called forth to subdue it. Yet it is not to be understood that its interposition would be justifiable if a State should determine to retire from the Union.

It depends on the State itself whether it will continue a member of the Union. To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principle on which all our political systems are founded, which is, that the people have in all cases the right to determine how they shall be governed.

The State may wholly withdraw from the Union.

If a majority of the people of a State deliberately and peaceably

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<sup>19</sup> Latrobe; Cajori, p. 118; Church Reminiscences, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 160.

resolve to relinquish the republican form of government, they cease to be members of the Union.

The secession of a State from the Union depends on the will of the people of such a State.

In any manner by which secession is to take place, nothing is more certain than that the act should be deliberate, clear and unequivocal.

The people of a State may have reason to complain in respect to acts of the general government; they may, in such cases, invest some of their own officers with the power of negotiation, and may declare an absolute secession in case of failure. The secession in such cases must be distinctly and peremptorily declared to take place, and in such case, as the case of unconditional secession, the previous ligament with the Union would be legitimately and fairly destroyed.

It was foreseen that there would be a natural tendency to increase the number of the States. It was also known that a State might withdraw itself.

To withdraw from the Union is a solemn, serious act.

Whenever it may appear expedient to that people of a State to withdraw from the Union, it must be manifest in a direct and unequivocal manner.

It has been said that Davis here formed his views on State sovereignty and secession. Possibly so, but environment in later life must be considered of more importance when seeking to account for the political theories of Davis and others.<sup>20</sup> In this connection it may be noted that the oath taken by cadets did not, until August, 1861, require paramount allegiance to the United States.

After the war, when Davis was charged with treason, it was the intent of his lawyers to offer as evidence when his case came to trial Rawle's *View of the Constitution*, the official text-book that he studied at West Point. It is probable that too much influence is attached to the teachings of Rawle, who simply reflected the legal attitude of the time. State sovereignty was then not an issue but a matter of course. The origin, later environments, etc., of the cadets probably had more influence than Rawle in shaping their views as to the fundamental character of the Union. But it is more important to note that Davis was more interested in this subject than any other in his course, and that his standing was higher in it than in any other.

Such was the course of study that Davis had at West Point

<sup>20</sup> Bingham: *Sectional Controversy*; Rawle: *View of the Constitution*, 1825; *West Point Centennial Volume*, p. 32; Sage: *Republic of Republics*; *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. III, pp. 144, 160; Logan: *Volunteer Soldier*; Church Reminiscences Boynton, pp. 252, 358; Adams: *Lee at Appomattox, Lee Centennial*, Schaff: *Spirit of Old West Point*; *Southern Historical Papers*, Vol. —, pp. 22, 83; Logan: *Volunteer Soldier*, p. 231.

and the record that he made from year to year. Four examination papers given to his class have been preserved. These show that the courses were quite difficult and compared quite favorably with modern courses.<sup>21</sup> Davis's general standing for the first three years was as follows: In June, 1825, he stood 32 in a class of 66; in 1826, 29 in a class of 49; in 1827, 29 in a class of 37. In his fourth year his general standing was 23 in 34, and his final grades made up in June, 1828, were as follows:

#### DAVIS' FINAL GRADES AT WEST POINT.

Subject of Study.	Relative standing.	No. of cadets in Class.	Grade	Value of subject.
Mathematics.....	33	49	154	300
French.....	16	49	78	100
Natural philosophy.....	30	37	130	300
Drawing.....	33	37	41	100
Engineering and the science of war.....	25	34	174	300
Chemistry and mineralogy	22	34	116	200
Rhetoric and moral philosophy.....	13	34	146	200
Tactics.....	.	.	132	200
Artillery.....	26	34	62	100
Conduct.....	23	34	219	300
General Merit <sup>22</sup> .....	23	34	1252	2100

#### UNIFORM, DRILL AND DISCIPLINE.

The uniform then worn was not unlike that of to-day in cut. The coat was of grey cloth, had three rows of gilt buttons in front, cost \$16, and was expected to last eight months. The winter vest, also of grey cloth, cost \$3.50, and was so disliked by the cadets that few were purchased. Each cadet was required to have two pairs of good kerseymere trousers, each costing \$9.50; four pairs of Russian sheeting trousers, and a fatigue suit of blue cotton. The tall bell cap was of heavy leather with a long plume, and cost \$8. The cadets hated this cap except on certain occasions when it served as a place of concealment for forbidden treasures. When not on duty they usually wore

<sup>21</sup> *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 150.

<sup>22</sup> The grades and such details are taken from the manuscript records at West Point; the courses of study are fully described in the books of reminiscences referred to, in the reports of the boards of visitors, 1824-1828, and in the *Centennial Volume*.

common soft hats. The cut of the trousers followed the fashion. A board of visitors criticised the "pantaloons, which have, in compliance with the present fashion, been shortened so as to leave an unsightly gap between them and the regulation shoe." The trousers were baggy, drawn up at the ankles by a string and held down by a band under the shoe. The tailor was a genius at padding and made the cadets look as much alike as possible.<sup>23</sup>

There was infantry drill every day and artillery drill less often. At that time there was no cavalry drill. The superintendent asked for horses in order that the cadets might not forget how to ride. The instructor in tactics was Major W. I. Worth, known to the cadets as "Haughty Bill." He was a fine man and a genuine soldier, and was generally liked. He knew every cadet, and when Davis got into trouble he always called in Worth as a witness for the defense. If Thayer was the creator of West Point on the academic side, it was Worth who, more than any one else, helped to make soldiers and gentlemen of the cadets. Captain Hitchcock, "Old Hitch," was assistant to Worth, but was not so well liked. He had the more irritating part of the discipline to attend to and frequently interfered with the efforts of Jefferson Davis to make life more lively at West Point. Lieutenant Kinsley was Davis's drill master in artillery.

When Davis came to West Point the other cadets had nearly all learned how to drill, so he was alone in the "awkward squad." There was little or no hazing, but the new cadets were guyed by the older ones. In order to get the proper length of step he was made by his drill master to march repeatedly over a series of shallow trenches twenty-eight inches apart, which taught the length of step and caused the cadet to pick up his feet properly. In winter drill was decidedly uncomfortable; sometimes the corps drilled on the ice of the ponds and on the ice covered plain. For artillery drill there were no horses and the cadets took turns in wearing harness and pulling the guns about. Then, as now, the corps spent the summer in camp on the plain.

The discipline was firm and successful, though it was not thought necessary to have a demerit system until 1825. During his first year, and perhaps afterward, Davis was punished

<sup>23</sup>Latrobe, pp. 10-12; *West Point Centennial Volume*, Vol. I, pp. 513-514; *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, III, *passim*.

for minor delinquencies by being set to work policing the academy grounds with hoe, rake and fork. After September, 1825, 200 demerits for a year sent a cadet home to stay. In conduct, after the demerit system was introduced, Davis stood as follows: In his second year he had 120 demerits and stood No. 156 in a corps of 222; the next year, with 70 demerits, he was No. 101 out of 202, and in his last year he accumulated 137 demerits and stood 163 out of 207 cadets, and 23 in his own class of 34. When reduced to numerical standing he was rated in conduct 219 out of 300, quite a high standing for such a lively young man.<sup>24</sup>

It was later said by classmates of Davis that in military matters he was looked upon as a leader by the corps. Gen. Crafts J. Wright said of him that he "was distinguished in the corps for his manly bearing, his high-toned and lofty character. His figure was very soldier-like and rather robust; his springy step resembling the tread of an Indian brave on the war path."<sup>25</sup>

Until late in life he kept the springy step, and to the last his erect carriage, but the "robust" figure was lost after his days at West Point.

#### CADET LIFE AT WEST POINT.

At the mess hall Mr. Cozzens dispensed plain but good food for ten dollars a month. The cadets of Davis's time were especially fond of his bread and butter. The hungry boys never asked for any particular part of the roast, only for "a large piece anywhere." It was Cozzens' motto to "Give young men plenty of first rate bread and potatoes, and they will require little meat and never complain."<sup>26</sup>

Another account of the fare was given by O. M. Mitchel, later astronomer and general, who was in the class below Davis. He wrote home that the soup was bad, that "a most filthy kind of Orleans molasses" was given to the cadets, with "some black looking stuff contained in a tin pan which was honored with the name of pudding."<sup>27</sup>

Mitchel was not accustomed to luxury or even comfort, so we

<sup>24</sup>Church; Latrobe; Mansfield: *Personal Memories*, p. 72; Reports of Board of Visitors; Manuscript records at West Point.

<sup>25</sup>Blackwood's Magazine, September, 1862; Davis: *Memoir*, p. 51.

<sup>26</sup>Church: *Reminiscences*.

<sup>27</sup>Mitchel: *Mitchel*, ch. 3.

must conclude that the fare was sometimes bad. For lunch at night the cadets would conceal bread and butter in their high leather caps, carry it from the mess hall and toast it after taps before the open fires in their rooms. At the barber shop they could get candy and fruit, and other eatables could be had at the sutler's. A certain "George" down near the landing made buckwheat cakes for those who could escape from the barracks.<sup>28</sup>

A year after Jefferson Davis went to West Point he received a visit from his brother Joseph E. Davis, who then lived in Warren County, Mississippi. He was traveling in company with the family of Well B. How, the father of Jefferson Davis's second wife. Of the meeting of the two brothers Mrs. Davis has given the following account:

"As the boat neared the landing a very stout, florid, young fellow came running down to the landing place and caught Mr. Joseph E. Davis in his arms. He said little, but my mother was struck by his beautiful blue eyes and graceful, strong figure. He slipped his hand through his brother's arm and sat very close to him, but otherwise made no sign of feeling except a silent caress. My mother spoke of his bright, open expression in a letter preserved, and mentioned that young Jefferson Davis was a 'promising youth.' Mr. Davis remembered her exceeding beauty and changing color. This was their first acquaintance with the man who was to be their son-in-law twenty years afterward."<sup>29</sup>

Life at West Point was more monotonous than it now is. It was a secluded place, little in touch with the outside world, and the cadets seldom went home on furlough. There were few visitors, and few women lived at the post and fewer still visited it. There was a dancing master who taught awkward cadets how to stand, walk and dance. But there were no balls, only a stag dance now and then in the chapel. In winter there was unlimited skating. The work was hard and the life monotonous except for the Saturday half holidays, when these cadets in good standing were allowed to leave the grounds to ramble in the surrounding country. These rambles often led in the direction of Buttermilk Falls, two miles away, where one Benny Havens kept liquid refreshments of various kinds. Smuggling material into quarters for after "taps" lunches, was a general habit. Turkeys and chickens were cooked after midnight. The high caps brought in many treasures. When money was to be had

<sup>28</sup>Church; Latrobe, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>29</sup>Davis: *Memoir*, Vol. I, p. 51.

the hungry cadet went to the fence behind the barber shop, found a certain board that hung by a single loose nail, removed it, and passed through to Gridley's, where hot suppers were to be had. In order to stop this practice Colonel Thayer secured an appropriation in 1825 to purchase the hotel which was then used as a cadet hospital. Benny Havens now became the "feeding" place. About the time that Davis reached West Point the cadets were forbidden to go to Benny's, but the prohibition was not effective.

On July 4 a public celebration was usually held under the elms in front of the mess hall, and the cadets constructed a bower for the occasion. After passing the last examination the graduating class marched out to a large rock on the plain and dumped upon it their tables, drawing boards, etc., then their personal property, and, after setting fire to the mass, they joined hands and danced around the pile, singing until the fire had burned out.<sup>30</sup>

#### BENNY HAVENS, OH!

Jefferson Davis enjoys the distinction of being in the first lot of cadets courtmartialed for drinking at Benny Havens. In the summer of 1825 the corps was in camp. The tents had no floors, and one Sunday a deluge of rain drowned out the quarters of Davis and others. He, with four others, Theophilus Mead, Samuel J. Hays, James Allison and James F. Swift, set out in search of a comfortable shelter. They reached Benny's before they found it. While they were indulging in comforting drinks Captain Hitchcock, who was passing, heard sounds of rejoicing, and stepped in. He testified that some of the cadets had "a certain wildness of countenance which is produced oftentimes by the use of ardent spirits." They were so ready to explain the situation to him that he confessed to "some difficulty in resisting" their advances, and one of them was "familiar with myself beyond the rules of propriety and discipline." Of Davis he said: "He exhibited extreme embarrassment which might have proceeded from being found in the circumstances I stated, but a part of it I attributed to the use of spirituous liquors."

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<sup>30</sup>Mansfield, pp. 72, 74; Church; Latrobe.

Davis here first appears as a strict constructionist. He maintained that there were two reasons why the cadets should be acquitted: (1) Because the regulations forbidding visits to Benny's, though known to the corps, had not been officially promulgated, and (2) because cider and porter he did not understand to be spirituous liquors," and that this was the opinion of the corps as well as of the greatest chemists. Davis had Major Worth to testify that "his deportment as a gentleman has been unexceptionable." Each cadet made a formal written defense also. That of Davis dwells upon the first of the two reasons named above. It ends with the following:

"It is better a hundred guilty should escape than one righteous person be condemned."<sup>31</sup>

The court sentenced Davis, Hays, Mead and Alison to be dismissed from the service of the United States, but in consideration of previous good conduct Davis and Hays were "pardoned and returned to duty."<sup>32</sup>

At another time Davis and a fellow cadet, Emil Lasere, went to Benny's, and hearing that some officer was coming rushed over a rocky short cut to the quarters. Davis stumbled and fell over a high cliff down forty or fifty feet towards the river. He caught the branches of a tree that grew out of the cliff, and though he tore his hands badly he managed to break the fall somewhat. His injuries were almost fatal and it was several months before he recovered.<sup>33</sup>

Havens began his career during Davis's first year and remained a West Point institution until his death in 1877. West Pointers, new and old, had and still have an almost endless song entitled "Benny Havens, Oh!" Some of the lines were:

To our comrades who have fallen, one cup before we go,  
They poured their lifeblood freely out *pro bono publico*;  
No marble points the stranger to where they rest below,  
They lie neglected far away from Benny Havens, Oh!

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Oh! Benny Havens, Oh! Oh! Benny Havens, Oh!  
So we all sing our reminiscences of Benny Havens, Oh!<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Court-martial records, BB96, Judge Advocate-General's office; Manuscript records, West Point.

<sup>32</sup>Military Academy Order No. 19, Engineer Dept., Aug. 29, 1825.

<sup>33</sup>Davis: *Memoir*, Vol. I, p. 52; Jones: *Memorial Volume*, p. 793.

<sup>34</sup>See Schaff: *Reminiscences of Old West Point; Army and Navy Life*, Feb., 1908, has a picture of the Havens' house.

## THE RIOT OF 1826.

Closely connected with Benny Havens was the great cadet riot of Christmas, 1826, in the middle of Davis's third year. Before Christmas day it was rumored through the barracks that Davis and other Southern and Southwestern cadets were going to explain to certain members of the corps the mysteries of eggnog. Cadets Davis, Tilghman and Temple were to get the necessaries from Benny's, but it seems that something prevented and others had to get the materials. The authorities were suspicious and ordered the inspectors to stay up all night to keep order. This angered the cadets and the preparations for the eggnog went on. In the dark of the morning of December 25th invitations were sent out. Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston, as later developments showed, declined. J. B. McGruder, Thomas Drayton, C. J. Wright, and others accepted. Davis was spreading the news when he heard a rumor that Captain Hitchcock was abroad. He ran back to No. 5 North Barracks, where the refreshments were collected, called out, "Put away that grog, boys, old Hitch is coming." and looked up to find that Hitchcock was already in the room. Davis was sent to his quarters under arrest, fortunately for him, for after some hilarious noise he went to sleep and did not get into the riot which then began. The instructors and officers were chased out of the halls into their own rooms and there besieged. The cadets organized "the Helvetic League" to protect themselves against the Bombardiers, who they heard were ordered out to subdue them. Davis's roommate, Walter B. Guion, of Mississippi, was the leader. He secured a pistol, and tried to shoot Captain Hitchcock. Some of the officers were quite badly bruised with stove wood that the cadets threw at them. After an hour or two the riot wore out. Later nineteen cadets, among them Guion, Davis's roommate, were courtmartialed and dismissed. Davis was long kept under arrest and given demerits.<sup>35</sup>

Spending money was scarce with most of the cadets. Davis received \$16 per month pay and two rations, equivalent in all

<sup>35</sup> Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, Jan. 8-20, 1827, and Court Martial Proceedings, No. 96, BB., 1827, Judge Advocate-General's office. Robert E. Lee's testimony was against the Helvetic League and was rather damaging. Guion entered the army as an officer of engineers.

to \$28 per month. Out of this he had to pay all expenses. But he was economical and sent part of his money to his mother each month. There were rules against receiving spending money from home, but many cadets managed to get it—"patches for old clothes," it was called. Nearly all were in debt to stores at the Point. Leonidas Polk, one of Davis's intimate friends, had trouble with Colonel Thayer over this rule, and it influenced him in his decision to leave the army and enter the ministry.<sup>36</sup> Davis heartily disliked Major Thayer on account, it is said, of the latter's system of espionage.

#### DAVIS'S FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES.

Of the instructors Davis seems to have liked better the younger men, Mahan, Bache, Bartlett, etc. One of the professors (probably Lieutenant Kinsley) openly disliked Davis and Davis returned the feeling. Once after an insulting remark from the Professor about Davis's dullness and probable lack of courage, the latter discovered that a fireball had ignited in the room which was filled with explosives, and that an explosion was eminent. He took the burning ball, called the instructor's attention to it, had the pleasure of seeing him run, and then threw the explosive out of the window. It is said that Davis never overcame his dislike for this man.<sup>37</sup>

For the chaplain, Dr. McIlvaine, who came in 1825, Davis had great respect and reverence. At that time none of the cadets were religious, few belonged to any church, numbers were skeptics, and some of the teachers and cadets openly opposed McIlvaine's work. He soon interested the young men and secured their respect, but for a year no one had the courage to indicate the fact. Polk was the first cadet to kneel in chapel; Davis, A. S. Johnston, and others soon followed. Polk left West Point to become a clergyman, but Davis was less influenced and did not join the church until 1863. Of the power and influence of McIlvaine, Davis always spoke in terms of admiration.<sup>38</sup>

Davis's friends and associates at West Point were from all

<sup>36</sup>Polk: *Polk*, Vol. I, p. 61; Davis: *Memoir*, Vol. I, p. 54; Centennial, Vol. I, p. 513.

<sup>37</sup>Davis: *Memoir*, Vol. I, p. 53.

<sup>38</sup>Polk: *Polk*, Vol. I, p. 72.; Davis: *Memoir*, Vol. I, p. 37.

classes, for class feeling was not strong then, and the students chose associates according to inclination, a fact which Davis in later years often mentioned with approval. His most intimate friends were, perhaps, Leonidas Polk and Albert Sidney Johnston; as he said they all belonged to the same "set." Davis appears to have had slight intercourse with R. E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, John B. McGruder and others who were later noted as Confederate leaders. There is a tradition that Davis and Joseph E. Johnston quarreled about a West Point girl and that a fight between them resulted. Crafts J. Wright of Ohio, R. E. Temple of Vermont, R. C. Tilghman of Maryland, Thomas F. Drayton of South Carolina, and Robert Sevier of Tennessee were usually his associates on Benny Haven's escapades, in which Lee, Polk and the two Johnstons did not indulge. Other intimate friends of Davis were James F. Izard of Pennsylvania and J. R. B. Gardenier of New York, both of whom were his classmates, and later served with him on the Western frontier, and Henry Clay, Jr., son of the great peace maker of American politics. Clay, an ardent friend of Davis, was killed at Buena Vista while standing near Davis. Collins, of New York, followed Davis into the Confederate service and was killed at the head of his regiment. Davis's own class furnished few men of later prominence, but in the other three classes that were at West Point at that time there were cadets some of whom were destined to be ranked with the immortals of history. Of the Confederates there were Robert E. Lee, the two Johnstons, Leonidas Polk, the bishop-general, William N. Pendleton, the artillery general, A. G. Blanchard, Benjamin Huger, T. H. Holmes, J. B. McGruder, "Prince of bluff," L. B. Northrop, later commissary general, and the most abused man in the Confederacy, Drayton, G. F. Raines, A. T. Bledsoe, soldier and author, etc. Of those afterwards noted as Federals there were Robert Anderson, who held Fort Sumter, Heintzelman, Amos P. Eaton, Silas Casey, Philip St. George Cooke, Buford and Pleasonton, the cavalry generals, O. M. Mitchel, the astronomer-general, Sidney Burbank, A. A. Humphreys, William H. Emory, Albert E. Church, who led Davis's class, and W. H. C. Bartlett and A. D. Bache, who stood near the first in other classes and later became professors at the Military Academy.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Church; *Memoir*, I.

At West Point Davis exhibited some of the characteristics which were later regarded as distinctive. The military cast of mind shown also in the oldest brother and in other relatives, and fostered by conditions of life in the Southwest, which was perhaps inherited from his father, was by the West Point training confirmed and strengthened. Here, too, he showed the peculiar strength of his friendships and of his dislikes. The mental training received was the best that could be had, and he acquired here the taste so marked in his mature life for mathematical, philosophical, and engineering problems, his love for the severe and classic in art, and the habit of reading that caused all who knew him to regard him as the best educated man in America.

The pleasantest days of Davis's life were spent at West Point. He never lost his interest in the Military Academy, and he always supported it and its graduates; one of the last duties performed by him as United States Senator was to assist in revising the course of study. The friends made there remained his lifelong and most intimate friends. During what proved to be his last illness he dictated some recollections of his life at West Point; in imagination he revisited the scenes of his youth and walked again with long dead friends. Obliged to stop for some reason, he was eager to go on with the dictation:

"I have not told what I wish to say of my [friends] Sidney Johnston and Polk. I have much more to say of them. I shall tell a great deal of West Point, and I seem to remember more every day."



## HENRY LOWNDES MULDROW.

BY GEORGE J. LEFTWICH.<sup>1</sup>

When Grover Cleveland was first elected President of the United States and the Democratic party came back into power, the unerring judgment of men displayed by Mr. Cleveland was no better illustrated than in his nomination of L. Q. C. Lamar for Secretary of the Interior and Henry Lowndes Muldrow for First Assistant Secretary. The latter of course was more the choice of Mr. Lamar than of Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Lamar's first nomination for the place was Mr. E. D. Clark, also of Mississippi, who died before he was installed into office. Wide comment was made on the choice of a Confederate Colonel for a cabinet office which had the oversight of the allowance and distribution of Federal pensions and who was more noted hitherto for his stirring oratory than for any administrative talent, but Mr. Cleveland looked deeper than the ordinary observer or newspaper editor. Vast areas of the public lands had been bartered away to railroad corporations to aid in the construction of railroads where the conditions of the grants had never been complied with. Enormous land frauds were well known to have been perpetrated, some of which have only lately been thoroughly exposed and the criminals punished. The administration of the pension office had grown exceedingly lax and the President later on almost exhausted his energies writing veto messages, vetoing special pension bills. Mr. Cleveland became convinced that in Lamar and Muldrow he had two thoroughly honest men who would see to it that waste and fraud should not characterize this department of the government during his administration. The appointment of these two distinguished men to the places they respectively occupied constituted a notable period in Mississippi history, for on their induction into office Mississippi ceased to be an outlying prov-

<sup>1</sup>A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VI, p. 359. Since the publication of this sketch (1902) Mr. Leftwich has continued a highly useful career as a citizen of Mississippi. He has taken a prominent part in the prohibition movement in the State, has served his church (the M. E. Church, South) as a lay delegate to the general conference held at Birmingham (1906) and is at present a member of the State Senate from the Thirty-eighth district.—EDITOR. (269)

ince and the talents of her public men, for the first time after the great war, were recognized in the administration of the nation's affairs.

This brief sketch is to make a permanent memorial of the official career of an able, honest and courageous statesman, Henry Lowndes Muldrow. Mr. Muldrow was born near Tibbee Station in Lowndes County, Mississippi, on the 8th day of February, 1837. His father, Simon C. Muldrow, a stern South Carolina Presbyterian, had immigrated thither in 1834; his mother was Miss Louisa Cannon. A numerous colony of the same type of South Carolinians as Simon C. Muldrow had settled in Lowndes County. It will be found by looking into the antecedents of notable men of that county that many of them hailed from South Carolina, stern, strong, vigorous, more or less puritanical, determined, frugal, they were people who would soon make excellent any country whose citizenship they adorned. As might easily be imagined, Simon C. Muldrow was a graduate of Princeton, and had already been a member of the South Carolina Legislature before the Dancing Rabbit Treaty with the Indians in 1830 had opened up the broad prairies to settlement. He came to Mississippi in 1834, only four years after the treaty mentioned had been signed. One can easily at this late day imagine the ardor and enthusiasm which led him to name his boy after the county to which he had come to seek a home and fortune. Lowndes County in turn had been named for a citizen of South Carolina. Tibbee was near the dividing line of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, and many of the red men no doubt still roamed over the wide rolling prairies when Simon C. Muldrow selected that place for his permanent abode. He lived there many years, but later removed to what became afterward Muldrow Station, on the Canton, Aberdeen & Nashville Railroad, where he died.

Young Muldrow was in due time sent to the University of Mississippi, where he graduated in the literary department in 1857, and in the law department in 1858. He began the practice of law at Starkville in 1859. He married Miss Eliza D. Ervin in 1860, who, with one child, the wife of Prof. W. L. Hutchinson of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, still survives. He became a trustee of the University in later years, and

his excellent judgment and administrative talents were always exercised in the care and oversight of his alma mater. He went to war as second lieutenant of the Oktibbeha Rescue Company, was captured at Fort Donelson and imprisoned both at Camp Chase and Johnson's Island, until in the fall of 1862 following he was exchanged. He was at once detailed as Judge Advocate of the Fourteenth regiment. In 1863 he returned home and raised a company which became attached to the regiment of Colonel Clay, of Noxubee County, and he later succeeded Colonel Perrin in command of the regiment. To illustrate his character as a soldier, I take the following excerpt from a letter of Col. Wm. L. Clayton, a comrade in arms, published soon after the death of Colonel Muldrow, commenting on both his high character as a judge and a soldier:

"Nor was Henry L. Muldrow less a soldier than a judge. I knew him during the days when shot and shell fell thick as hail, and amid every conflict he remained cool and calm, sitting on his horse at the head of his regiment, proud and erect as if on parade. With a keen insight into military strategy, he had the courage and daring to carry out his plans. Careful of the interests and health of his men, he never wasted life needlessly, but when the moment came for the charge he only asked them to follow where he led. Thus he was an ideal cavalry man."

"On the right of Hood's army at the battle of Atlanta, as our cavalry brigade charged amid the thickest of the fight, Colonel Muldrow might have been seen at the head of his regiment, conspicuous for his skill and daring, and yet as unassuming, when the conflict was over, as any private in the ranks. He also recognized the fact that it was the patriotism, courage and constancy of the private soldier that sustained the Confederacy, and was ever ready to award to merit its meed."

"Our brigade was at Rock Hill, S. C., when Johnson surrendered, and we, being a part of his army, were of course included. Notwithstanding this, Ferguson, our brigadier-general, knowing of the surrender (of which we were ignorant), undertook to carry the brigade across to the Trans-Mississippi department. When we arrived at Washington, Ga., we heard of the surrender, and, knowing the danger of being found in arms, contrary to the terms of the surrender, we held a meeting of officers at Ferguson's headquarters, in the course of which high words passed between General Ferguson and Colonel Muldrow, on account of Ferguson's failure to acquaint us with the fact that we had been surrendered by Johnson. We then sought the nearest Federal command and Colonel Muldrow paroled his men, and I did the same for the Twelfth Mississippi cavalry (Inge's regiment), of which I was at the time in command."

Colonel Muldrow's political career began not many years after the return of peace, when he again settled at Starkville and opened a law office. He was appointed District Attorney for the Sixth Judicial District by Governor Alcorn in 1869, and served until 1871. He made a discriminating and faithful

prosecutor. He seemed to view the office as having the same place in civil affairs as did that of Judge Advocate in military affairs. His first duty he recognized to be that of protecting the interests of the State, but he was always alert to see that the prisoners' interests were not ignored or trampled upon. The commonwealth was never allowed to suffer, nor was a man ever prosecuted out of vindictiveness of spirit or for the mere sake of professional pride. In one of the contests for Congress when he was seeking a renomination at the hands of his party, his acceptance of office under Governor Alcorn, a Republican, was brought against him by a worthy competitor yet living but the people were so largely in favor of Mr. Muldrow that his adversary withdrew before the nominating convention passed upon their respective claims. He was so faithful to his trust as prosecuting officer that the source of his commission had no effect on the voter. He was elected to the Forty-fifth Congress in 1876, his Republican adversary being Capt. Jas. W. Lee, of Monroe County. Colonel Muldrow received 20,597 votes, and Captain Lee 6,420. He was re-elected to the Forty-sixth Congress over General Reuben Davis, who ran under the auspices of the National party, Colonel Muldrow receiving 9,632 votes and General Davis 6,602. In 1880 he declined a renomination, and Gen. W. F. Tucker, of Okolona, Col. S. M. Meek, of Columbus, and John M. Allen, of Tupelo, were candidates for the nomination in the famous Democratic convention that met at Corinth, where Colonel Muldrow was again renominated as a dark horse and without being a candidate, on the 269th ballot. When it came to the general election the same year, he received 4,456 votes over Morphis, Republican, who received 3,828, and Davidson, Greenbacker, who received 1,058. As a commentary on that period of our State's history, it is observed that Colonel Muldrow was elected at that time by a plurality and not majority of the popular vote. He was elected to the Forty-eighth Congress in 1882 over Theodoric C. Lyon, who had been a Republican chancellor, when Colonel Muldrow received 6,390 votes, and Mr. Lyon 1,416. While in Congress he served on the Committee on Territories, of which he was chairman, and for several terms on the Committee on Private Land Claims, and it was while filling these important places that he became so

thoroughly qualified for the great office of which he was to be the first occupant on the appointment of Mr. Cleveland and into which he was inducted soon after he left Congress on the 4th of March, 1885.

He was one of the most useful Congressmen the State of Mississippi has ever had. He at once took up the improvement of the rivers of his State, and secured large appropriations for the Warrior and the Tombigbee. He stocked the Tombigbee, which ran through his own district, with fish, placing therein in a short time 350,000 shad and 100,000 salmon. The first variety are still called locally "Muldrow shad." He was influential in establishing the Federal cemetery at Corinth, and is conceded to be the author and originator of the bill to make the Commissioner of Agriculture a member of the Cabinet. This bill did not become a law while he was in Congress, but he first introduced it and repeatedly reintroduced it until the idea was accepted and finally the bill was almost unanimously passed, and the office has grown to be one of great usefulness. He was a most forceful and well-informed debator, attending faithfully and constantly upon the meetings of committees until his services became valuable and his information extensive. That Colonel Muldrow had the ken of the statesman, I cite the following quotation from the address to the voters of his district on a renomination to Congress:

"Soon after my arrival in Washington I became convinced that the one great need of the South was, by the course of policy it pursued, to impress upon the country the conviction that the harmonious action of the restored South was necessary to the preservation and development of the great national interests, not only for the benefit of the whole country, but that the South itself, in its weakness and impoverishment, might find aid and comfort in the friendly and renewed confidence of the North. Conducive to this end, I felt that it was both wise and patriotic to avoid all these rancorous manifestations of sectional prejudices which, coming from either side, would contribute to no good or practical end, but would be prolific of that spirit of angry difference which would destroy all hope of wise counsel or salutary legislation. Whatever of usefulness my public service embodies is due to my steady adherence to this principle. To this cause, in a great measure, I am confident I am indebted for the influence which has enabled me, on more than one occasion, to serve important local interests in my own district."

This address might still be read with profit by all our people.

After he was renominated a third time, though not a candidate, from his letter of acceptance to the committee notifying him of his nomination I take the following excerpt:

"That the Republican leaders design to overthrow the rights of the States and of the people by the centralization of more than constitutional powers in the Federal government is scarcely concealed. They ignore the fact that the 'enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people,' and that 'the powers not delegated to the United States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.'

"The Democratic party, on the contrary, while accepting in good faith the results of the war, believe that these salutary declarations cannot be too often proclaimed, nor can they be too strenuously insisted upon, if we would preserve the rights of the States and liberties of the people. While those who control the fortunes and policy of the Republican party do not openly avow their purpose to destroy our system, yet the denunciations which they have uttered, the doctrines which they have announced, and the laws which they have advocated and passed, prove beyond successful controversy that such is their aim, if this be necessary to perpetuate their power. They struggled for the centralization of power in the Federal and the suppression of power in the State governments.

"On the other hand, the Democratic party insists that there are two governments in this country—one the Federal and the other the State—each of which was designed to move in its appropriate constitutional sphere; that neither should pass beyond the sphere which is its own; and that neither should attempt to destroy or impair the rights, immunities and privileges which belong to the other. In the present contest, then, between these two parties, the rights of the States and the people in the States is the supreme issue. So long as the Republican party shall exist and shall be controlled by its present leaders, all other issues are dwarfed in comparison with this.

"It is the issue in which the South is intensely concerned. Her home rule, her prosperity, her happiness and independence is so inseparably interwoven with and dependent upon its solution, that we cannot for a moment, with safety, forget or ignore it."

These utterances, out of many of like character, are given to show the sound statesmanship of the author. After he left Congress his most notable administrative work began. He was commissioned by President Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, March 26, 1885. The Sundry Civil Appropriation Act, approved March 3, 1885, provided "for an additional Assistant Secretary of the Interior, who shall be known and designated as First Assistant Secretary." Colonel Muldrow became the first occupant of this high office, being appointed July 1, 1885, the date the act went into effect, and served as such until his retirement from the Department April 1, 1889. By the regulations of the Department in force at that time, the following duties were assigned to the First Assistant Secretary:

The First Assistant Secretary of the Interior considers appeals from the Commissioner of the General Land Office and from the administrative action of the Commissioner of Patents and Indian Affairs; examines charges against officials and employees; countersigns pension certificates and certifies official copies and as to official character; supervises and

instructs Indian inspectors, commissions and school superintendents, and matters pertaining to the Indians generally; acts on recommendations for the dismissal of departmental employees, their resignations and applications for leave of absence; supervises the business from the Office of Education and of the Document and Census divisions, and matters relating to the Government Hospital for the Insane, Columbia Institute for Deaf and Dumb, Freedmen's Hospital, Yellowstone National Park, and the Hot Springs in Arkansas; grants admission to the Maryland Institution for the Blind, and approves its accounts; approves expense and transportation accounts, orders for stationery, and vouchers for rent, advertising, and miscellaneous supplies; and acts as Secretary in the absence of that officer.

From a letter to the writer from Edward M. Dawson, chief clerk of the Interior Department, I make the following quotation:

"Colonel Muldrow was a most efficient officer. It was my good fortune to be closely associated with him in the official business assigned to his supervision. Possessing good judgment, of judicial mind, industrious, kind, considerate and attentive to persons having business before the department, as well as to those with whom he was officially associated, he left a record of service of which his friends may well be proud. I know he rendered Secretary Lamar most valuable service."

While occupying the office of the First Assistant Secretary of the Interior Department, Volumes 3 to 8 of the Land Decisions of the Department were issued, which volumes are largely made up of the decisions of First Assistant Secretary Muldrow. It was while occupying this high judicial place in which he heard appeals from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, which involved the title to millions of acres of public lands that the name of Colonel Muldrow became very widely known as a judicial administrator to the land lawyers of the great West. His name was quite familiar to all of them and his reputation high. It was a fine field for the exploitation of high judicial qualities. If the interested reader were to peruse these volumes he would better appreciate the vast scope of the litigation pending at the time by way of appeals from the decisions of the Commissioner of the General Land Office. In the appeal of Louis W. Brunell, Vol. VIII, page 231, the rule to prevail as to making *nunc pro tunc* proof of the required residence, cultivation and improvement of a homestead by the claimant thereto was stated. In Orr *vs.* Roach, Vol. VII, page 292, the principle is announced that the homesteader does not forfeit his right by selling the homestead before patent is issued when he has com-

plied with the requirements of the law, the legal title in the Government being adjudged to follow the equitable in the entry. In *Lawrence vs. Phillips*, Vol. VI, page 141, he allows the good faith of the claimant to override the naked letter of the statute. The force to be given the findings of fact, of local land officers (Vol. VI, page 225), the principles of practice controlling motions to review (Vol. VI, page 462), the rules by which the forfeiture of railroad grants shall be ordered (Vol. VI, page 661), and hundreds of other written opinions found in these volumes have built up the land laws and construed the statutes which control the opening to settlement of our vast public domain. Contested mineral claims, mill site claims, timber culture entries, homestead entries, soldiers' additional entries, recommendations to the Attorney-General to institute suits to vacate patents, all come in for discussion and decision in these numerous appeals. One is struck with the frequency with which this great judge overrides the cold letter of the law as construed by the Land Commissioner by the equities of the case and the good faith of the homesteader or claimant. His success under Lamar caused him to be widely mentioned for Secretary of the Interior in Cleveland's second administration, but he was not offered the portfolio.

When in after years Colonel Muldrow went upon the chancery bench the bar was more or less surprised at the ease and familiarity with which he dealt with intricate legal problems, and his instant success as a *nisi prius* judge. Many of them overlooked the fact of his splendid training as a judge of a court of appeals from the General Land Office while under Mr. Cleveland.

In 1899 Colonel Muldrow was appointed Chancellor of the First Chancery District by Governor McLaurin, to succeed Judge Baxter McFarland. His predecessor had been in office sixteen years and had acquired distinction as a judge. Judge McFarland was so thoroughly attentive, industrious, courteous and able, so fully informed as to the decisions of the highest courts which he had at his tongue's end, and so absolutely beyond reproach as a judge that the bar were almost unanimous in asking for his reappointment. Colonel Muldrow had not been a candidate, and when he was appointed the lawyers of the district feared a serious blunder had been made. It was

known that Colonel Muldrow had been a politician the greater part of his life, and therefore had not practiced law as widely as he otherwise might have done. The criticism, however, was never unkind, because of the high character and distinguished public service of Colonel Muldrow. But whatever of dissatisfaction existed at the time of his appointment there was universal acclaim at his splendid success as soon as he had made one or two rounds of his courts. He was never wanting in dignity or courtesy; he was absolutely fair, and so correct and just in his decisions of cases, that it became almost impossible to reverse him in the Supreme Court.

There was no room for the pettifogger or trimmer in his court.

He had a marvelous grasp of the facts in a record; he would sit for hours and hear read the dry details of a chancery record, and overlook or forgot no important fact or date. After hearing the evidence read and the argument of counsel, he rarely took a case under advisement, but generally decided the whole matter before he left the bench; where a record was very large or where it was poorly argued, he would sometimes take the case under advisement. He had no favorites at the bar, but treated all alike courteously and justly; he was especially considerate of the beginner and of the poorly qualified lawyer who had difficulty in grasping the merits and details of his case. He never distrusted any member of the bar; he was proud to proclaim that no member of the bar of his district had ever intentionally deceived him; he accepted without hesitancy the word of the lawyer practicing before him.

He soon became respected, and at the time of his death, while serving his second term as Chancellor, he was universally loved by the bar, and it will hardly be disputed among them that a better *nisi prius* judge ever occupied the bench of his district. He disclaimed time and again being a technical lawyer, versed in the lore of black-letter law, but whether this be true or not, he had a wonderful memory for facts, and over and above that a most discriminating and unerring judgment, and still above that, he possessed the loftiest and noblest sense of justice and right. This combination of qualities could not fail to make him a great judge. It was late in life when he went on the bench, being considerably above sixty years of age, but his

training had been excellent. It began when he was District Attorney and Judge Advocate in the army, and as I have shown, his experience as First Assistant Secretary of the Interior when passing upon appeals from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, was most valuable and comprehensive. The result of it all was that his success was immediate and marked.

The first day of March, 1905, he spent looking over his plantation near Muldrow Station. He came home, was taken with heart failure during the night, and early next day he passed away. He was most modest and unassuming, never overambitious, retiring from the office which he held before the people were ready, never greatly esteeming himself, but yet he was one of the most capable public men the State has ever produced. He helped frame the Constitution of 1890, and there rendered the State distinguished service. As both a State and a National legislator, he was well informed about practical affairs; as judge of the courts in both the land offices of the general government and of his State, he was par excellence. How competent to fill any high place, how much a statesman he was, were more appreciated after his death than before. He was sixty-eight years of age at the time of his death, and was still growing in wisdom and capacity and public esteem.

## HISTORY OF PORT GIBSON, MISSISSIPPI.

BY REV. H. G. HAWKINS.<sup>1</sup>

Port Gibson is the county seat of Claiborne. It is situated on the south fork of the Bayou Pierre River, at the foot of a chain of hills on the southeast and south. It rises from the Bayou Pierre in two plateaux and gradually extends back to the top of the hills on the south. It is thirty miles south of Vicksburg and ten miles east of the Mississippi. When Vicksburg was founded, about 1820, Port Gibson was already a thriving town. A list which gives the net amount of postage accruing at the chief postoffices in Mississippi for the year ending March 31, 1830, showed Port Gibson as second only to Natchez. In 1858 and 1859 it supported a daily newspaper. It has been outstripped in later days by other towns, but it is still a prosperous little city of about 3,000 population, the census of 1900, made before the extension of the corporate limits, giving 2,019. The bonded debt is \$45,860.00, incurred for public schools, water and light

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<sup>1</sup>Joshua Hawkins was an American soldier in the Revolutionary War. In the battle of Brandywine he was wounded in the arm, and the ball was carried in his flesh until his death, years later, when it was removed. Herbert Hawkins, son of Joshua Hawkins, was a local Baptist preacher, who, in 1847, with a large family, moved from Spartanburg district, South Carolina, and settled in Pickens County, on McAbu creek. One of his sons was Gabriel Hawkins, who, though educated for the medical profession, became, in 1854, a Methodist preacher, joining the itinerant ranks, where he remained, faithful and effective, until his death at Rose Hill (May, 1885), while pastor in charge of the Paulding circuit, having been transferred from the Alabama to the Mississippi Conference three years before. The writer of his memoir refers to his as a "well rounded" success. His classical training was much above that of the average circuit rider of his generation. He was married to Martha Elizaebth Lawrence, daughter of Mr. H. N. Lawrence, of Crawfordsville, Miss. Of the eleven children born to them, four sons and three daughters are still living, Henry Gabriel Hawkins, the subject of this sketch, being the second of these. He was born October 5, 1866, in a house that stood partly in Choctaw County and partly in Sumter County, Alabama. Under the instruction of Prof. Joel C. DuBose, he was prepared to enter the junior class of the University of Alabama. Among other distinctions won in his student days were a prize of the New Shakespeare Society of Great Britain, unusual promotion in the cadet corps, and a place on the editorial board of the *University Monthly*.

After teaching at Columbia, Quitman, Meridian and Enterprise, Miss., Mr. Hawkins served a term as Superintendent of Public Instruction of Clarke County, Mississippi. While holding this office he was licensed to

plants. The town tax at present is twelve and one-half mills. The assessed value of property is \$1,250,000.00. There are nine churches, two banks, two oil mills, one compress, one ice factory, one brick factory, fifty-two business houses, several of which do a considerable wholesale trade. It is becoming a dairying center. It is one of the best cotton markets of any inland town in the South. The country adjacent produces large quantities of Allen cotton, which commands high prices at home, in New England and abroad.<sup>2</sup>

Immense jawbones and monstrous teeth dug from the soil in the vicinity, recall the period when life was represented by the mastodon. The buried wall that extends for forty miles through the counties of Copiah, Claiborne, and Jefferson, betokens a people of a prehistoric age. It is a long cry from the time of the building of this wall to the coming of the present inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

The names Petit Gulf (now Rodney) and Grand Gulf, neighboring points on the Mississippi, were given in 1700 by a French

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preach and, at the expiration of his term, he entered the theological department of Vanderbilt University. At the end of the session he accepted a position as instructor of English in the Government Middle School for young men at Matsuyama, Japan. He was present at the organizing of the Japan Mission Conference of the M. E. Church, South (1893), and served as secretary and edited the minutes of its first regular annual meeting (1894).

Mr. Hawkins is the author of *Twenty Months in Japan* (1901). He probably has the best private collection of Japanese curios to be found in the South. On the trip home he visited China, Malaysia, India, Egypt, Palestine, France and England. He was admitted in full connection into the Mississippi Conference at Meridian, in December, 1896.

Mr. Hawkins is a forceful and attractive speaker and an occasional contributor to the columns of the *New Orleans Christian Advocate*, the *Epworth Era*, and other denominational periodicals.

Mr. Hawkins was married in November, 1895, to Mary Alletha Terral, daughter of the late Justice S. H. Terral, of the Mississippi Supreme bench. She died in February, 1898, and, on October 18, 1900, he was married again to Annie Betts Galloway, daughter of Capt. Geo. W. Galloway, of Canton, Miss.

After rendering conspicuous service at Whitworth College, Brookhaven, Miss. (1903-6), he accepted the presidency of Port Gibson Female College, which position he now holds. Through his efforts the curricula of both of these institutions have been raised, and the attendance at the latter has been more than trebled.—EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup>At the Jamestown Exposition the chief exhibit that Mississippi had was a remarkable collection of samples taken from one hundred bales of cotton shipped by S. Bernheimer & Sons, of Port Gibson, to an eastern market on January 18, 1907. This cotton brought, before being compressed, thirty cents per pound.

<sup>3</sup>Geologists, who have made careful examinations of this "wall," declare that it is a very remarkable natural formation.—EDITOR.

party which ascended the Mississippi River as far as the Tensas country.

Claiborne's *Mississippi* says that there were one or two settlements in the present county of Claiborne on the Bayou Pierre at the time of the Indian uprising against the French. But these were small and they perished in the massacre of 1729. It was then thirty-five or forty years until other settlers came.

On February 2, 1775, a tract of 20,000 acres on Bayou Pierre and Big Black, extending within a short distance of where Port Gibson now stands, was granted to Captain Thaddeus Lyman of Connecticut in return for the eminent services of his father in Canada and the West Indies. This is one of the only two grants in Mississippi direct from the English crown. The Lyman family and their followers, all told about 200 souls, came up the Mississippi from New Orleans on barges and open boats in the summer of 1774, before the grant had actually been issued. Some fixed themselves in the neighborhood of Grand Gulf, thus making that place one of the oldest settlements in the country. But Thaddeus Lyman himself and most of the colonists became disheartened and moved away. Though it is now divided into many plantations, the tract is still known as "The Lyman Mandamus."

In the year 1899 Port Gibson celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, though its origin, more strictly speaking, as a town was in 1803, when the first lot was sold. It was named for Samuel Gibson, the first settler, who on August 2, 1788, obtained from the Spanish Government a grant of 850 arpents of land, embracing the present location of Port Gibson. As to whether he was related to the Methodist preachers, Tobias Gibson and Randall Gibson, who were celebrated characters in the same region in the early days, opinions differ.

Soon after Samuel Gibson obtained his grant he moved to it accompanied by his family, and settled down in the wild woods. White people had been coming into this country, as shown above, as early as 1774, but they had settled nearer the Mississippi River. Gibson was the second man to penetrate so far into the untrdden wilderness, having been preceded one year by Jacob Cobun, who had obtained a grant of 800 acres three or four miles to the southeast. All was a trackless forest with

many towering trees, the growth of centuries. Underneath were dense jungles known as canebrakes, through which the only paths were those made by savages and wild beasts.

The soil was of surpassing richness and the gigantic reeds which soared to the height of twenty-five to thirty-five feet, formed the resort of innumerable wild animals. Mr. Gibson's last surviving child, Mrs. Ann Minor, who died in Port Gibson in 1863, at the age of 74, used to tell of bears, wolves and panthers coming within a few feet of the house.

Lorenzo Dow, who made various visits to the region, beginning as early as 1803, and who secured several tracts of land in the locality, and for a year or two resided, along with his wife Peggie, about four miles from Port Gibson, makes the following entry in his *Journal*:

"Cosmopolite [as he calls himself] retired into a canebrake at the foot of a large hill where was a beautiful spring which he named Chickamaw, [good spring], by which he got a small cabin made of split poles, where the bear, wolf, tiger, etc., and all kinds of serpents in North America abound.

"Once he met three animals while going to a neighboring house upon a long by-way which he had hacked through the cane. He told them to get out, and chinked his tins together; one took to the left and two to the right a few feet, and he passed between when they closed behind. He inquired if Mr. Neal had been there, having seen his bull dogs. The family on hearing their description reported that they were wolves."

A grant of 700 acres was obtained in 1789 by Samuel Gibson for his son John, then ten years of age. Samuel Cobun, Mr. Gibson's brother-in-law, who in 1802 became the first sheriff of Claiborne County, also secured in the year 1790, a grant of 300 acres in the same vicinity.

Mr. Gibson's first house was a rude log structure. He brought slaves with him to his Bayou Pierre home, some being native Africans. He prospered and grew rich as a large planter and slaveholder, with great herds of cattle, sheep and swine. Life was simple. Everything except coffee and sugar was raised at home—tobacco, indigo, rice, potatoes, wheat and buckwheat. The last was for bees, of which Mrs. Gibson had many hives. There was a large orchard of peaches, figs, pears, apples, chestnuts and melons. Besides the wild flesh from the forest, the flocks furnished milk, butter and fresh meats. There was a grist mill for grinding wheat, some years later a cotton gin was

added, one of the earliest in the country. Mrs. Gibson, it is said, could not write her name, but made honey and lard, and cured hams and bacon, and all the plantation, white and black, wore cloth of home-made cotton and wool, spun and woven under her supervision. This industrious woman prepared even the starch that was used on the place, the field adjoining the present Port Gibson cemetery being devoted to the growing of a kind of flinty corn for that purpose. The corn was gathered at a certain stage, while soft, and taken to a large spring where it was crushed, put into large pots filled with water, and after standing some time, the water was boiled down till starch was formed.

Much of this information as to life on Mr. Gibson's plantation was obtained from an article written by Mr. A. C. Wharton in the *Port Gibson Record*, March, 1887, and he secured his information from Rose Davenport, a negress who had belonged to Mr. Gibson. She said that the rice and indigo grew in the flat of the Bayou Pierre; that the indigo, when ripe, was cut and brought to the yard and put into large troughs, water was poured in, and some of the negro men were set to work pounding the indigo to express the juice; that one of her earliest recollections was watching the blue flames fly from the trough under this energetic pounding. After Mr. Gibson's death an inventory of his property made and on file in the chancery clerk's office, includes "a girl, Rose, 15 years old." This proves that she was born in 1803, the year in which the Legislature declared that Gibson's Landing should be the county seat of Claiborne.

Mr. Gibson must have been a man of some literary taste, as he had a library of 160 volumes, embracing standard works of history, philosophy, travel and poetry; and his house was a stopping place for the early preachers, who sometimes held services there.

Large numbers of Choctaw Indians were in the vicinity; the Indian women were hired every fall to pick cotton, which crop was more than the regular force could gather. Though the Choctaws were a friendly tribe, yet the letters of Sargent and Claiborne, the first Governors of the Mississippi Territory, indicate that the early settlers lived much in dread of uprisings among the Indians.

Mr. Gibson died December 19, 1817, and was buried in the

family graveyard, which is now the protestant cemetery, in the north end of which his grave may still be seen, marked by a slab of sandstone, which refers to him as the "first settler of this place," age 60 years. Though the first settler of Port Gibson, others preceded him to this home of the dead. Slabs are there marked as early as 1807, young and old of different occupations and born in different and distant climes. Close by rests his wife, Rebecca, who died July 15, 1821. The home in which he died was a four-room framed building, located within the present limits of the Port Gibson Female College property, and it remained standing until a few years ago, when it was torn down.

His personal property, excluding lands, but including thirty-eight slaves, was appraised after his death at \$31,500. R. G. Hastings, who is a grandson of Samuel Gibson's granddaughter, at the present time resides upon College Street in Port Gibson, upon a lot which has never passed out of the hands of the Gibson heirs. Mr. Hastings has in his home the huge family Bible of Samuel Gibson, printed in 1798. Besides the family record this Bible contains a short obituary of Samuel Gibson, and a picture of him and one of Mrs. Gibson.

When Lorenzo Dow made his first trip into this country in 1803, upon horseback, via Virginia, Carolina and Georgia, after passing the Chattahoochee River in Georgia, he found no white settlements until he reached the Natchez country. He got up a camp-meeting, which he held about thirty miles from Port Gibson, and which was attended by about thirty families.

In 1798 Spain withdrew from the Natchez country and the Federal Congress the same year created the Mississippi Territory, including the southern parts of the present States of Mississippi and Alabama. It was organized with two counties in the present limits of Mississippi, Adams and Pickering. Soon Pickering was changed to Jefferson and at the same time there was formed out of it an additional county, named Claiborne, in honor of W. C. C. Claiborne, the Governor. Port Gibson was still just a river landing in the forest, but it seemed destined to be a place of business, and so the Territorial Legislature, on March the 12th, 1803, passed an act defining the boundary line between Jefferson and Claiborne Counties, and fixing the seat of justice of the

new county "at the place commonly called 'Gibson's Landing,' on the south fork of the Bayou Pierre." By the same act Thomas White, Daniel Burnet, G. W. Humphreys and John McCaleb were appointed commissioners to buy two acres of land from Samuel Gibson and to contract for the erection thereon of courthouse, jail, stock, pillory and whipping post. The two acres secured form the site of the present courthouse and jail. The buildings erected were very simple as compared with the present handsome structure, which was put up in 1903, a century later. The upper story of the jail was "debtor's room."

The first court in the new county met July 19, 1802, and was in session three days. At this term five attorneys qualified; three constables were appointed and two guardians; one surveyor was named to run the line between Jefferson and Clairborne; two persons were recommended to the executive for the magistracy. Action was taken in reference to six ferries, and three persons were appointed to supervise the election for representative for the county. A *venire* was issued to the sheriff to summon eighteen jurors to appear before the superior court of the district.<sup>4</sup> Committees were appointed to examine the roads, and petitions were heard concerning opening and re-opening of roads all the way from the Jefferson line to the Walnut Hills. Ten road overseers were appointed. Several criminal and civil cases were called, but in most of these the plaintiffs did not appear. One or two wills were offered to be proved.

The sheriff and clerk the first year were paid only fifty dollars each for their services. But the above items of business shown in the minute book of the first court reveal an inroad of settlers.

The first lot sold at the county seat was on July 10, 1803, to Frederick Myers, Number 3, Square 8, for \$115. Soon there was a brisk demand, and by November, 1804, the village contained, as Lorenzo Dow declares, thirty houses. Dow himself brought colonists several times. The first license to keep a public house was granted in 1803 to Moses Armstrong and Robert Ashley, the court at the same time fixing the rates for the county, including the prices of various wines, of the diet, lodging, stabling, pasturing. The meats served were venison, bear, wild turkey,

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<sup>4</sup>This superior court seems to have been held in Jefferson County.

wild duck, and best qualities of fish, this latter being obtained from the near by Bayou Pierre, which was narrower and deeper than now. In 1804 the court appointed a keeper of Gibson's Landing Ferry and fixed the rates as follows: Wagon and team, \$1.00; cart and team, fifty cents; man and horse, twelve cents; man, five cents.

For ten or fifteen years it was either "Gibson Port" or "Port Gibson," but by-and-by the name "Port Gibson" prevailed.

The first postmaster was William B. Elam, appointed May 7, 1804. The town was incorporated in 1811, along with Woodville, Huntsville and St. Stephens. The right to vote was conferred on the freeholders, landowners and householders within said town, "all free male inhabitants subject to taxation who shall be in the occupancy of a room or rooms, being deemed householders and entitled to vote at town elections."

"By Act of Congress it was made a port of entry prior to its incorporation, and customs were collected, early in the history of the then Mississippi Territory. The Bayou Pierre was then the means of connection with the Mississippi River, and numbers of watercraft of every kind lined the shore next the thriving town. Later, stern-wheel and small side-wheel steamers came into commercial service between it and the cities of St. Louis, New Orleans and Vicksburg. From its earliest foundation it became a growing, thriving and important business center. Farmers from as far east as Pearl River came overland to sell commodities and purchase merchandise. Grand Gulf, on the Mississippi, then a city of about 3,500, with banks and daily papers, was its rival. In the year 1833 enterprising local capitalists organized the Port Gibson & Grand Gulf Banking & Railroad Company. It was but a short time before the younger Bayou Pierre town began to outstrip the river city. Its growth was phenomenal."<sup>5</sup>

In the Department of Archives and History at the capitol in Jackson is a volume (recently nicely bound) of the weekly issues of the *Port Gibson Correspondent* for the year beginning November 9, 1821. It was published by J. Hughes, publisher of the laws of the United States. It gives news from Great Britain, Spain, Portugal and Italy. This news was usually about one month in coming from New York to Port Gibson, and about two months coming from these countries to New York. One item of foreign news was that Eugene Beauharnais had demanded, at the hands of the Holy Alliance, that the remains of Napoleon Bonaparte be removed to the banks of the Seine, in conformity

<sup>5</sup>Extract from pamphlet on Claiborne County and Port Gibson, prepared for Port Gibson Board of Trade by Jno. McC. Martin.

to the wish in his will. The same issue referred to the fact that the preceding Monday was the day fixed for the convening of the General Assembly at Columbia, Miss., but that up to the time of going to press no intelligence from the Assembly had been received. Among the locals occurred the following:

"Gen. Thomas Hinds, one of the commissioners on the seat of government, passed through Port Gibson on his way to the new Choctaw purchase to attend to his duties."

"On the 6th inst. Rev. Randall Gibson officiated at the marriage of Rev. John Seaton to the amiable Miss Irvin, of Jefferson County."

The November 16th issue gives the message of Governor Poindexter to the General Assembly.

In the chancery clerk's office are kept bound volumes of the newspapers published in Port Gibson. The first of these volumes is *The Correspondent* and the *Mississippi General Advertiser*, from December, 1830, to September, 1832. The December 30th issue is number 8, volume 13; therefore, the first newspaper published in Port Gibson was probably in 1817, a year or more before the death of Samuel Gibson. The following is a list of the other bound volumes:

*The Port Gibson Herald* (three volumes)—September, 1842, to August, 1851.

*Weekly Southern Reveille*—September, 1856, to June, 1859.

*Daily Southern Reveille*—September, 1858, to June, 1859.

*Weekly Standard* (two volumes)—December, 1865, to August, 1875.

*Southern Reveille* (four volumes)—February, 1876, to March, 1888.

*Weekly Record*—April, 1887, to March, 1891.

*Port Gibson Reveille*—April, 1891, to December, 1902.

The above copy of the *Correspondent and Mississippi General Advertiser* of December 30, 1830, has the following: "Published by Benj. F. Stockton every Saturday, \$5.00 in advance." This paper seems to have been what its name implied, a kind of general advertiser for the State of Mississippi. It published by authority the laws that were enacted by the Legislature; it gave the proceedings of Congress at Washington, the latest news from Europe; it advertised various lines of business for Port Gibson and other towns. A considerable proportion of the space was devoted to the advertisement of runaway slaves. Here is a sample:

"Daniel, a man about forty, very dark complexioned, rather under ordinary size. His right knee is somewhat stiff, in consequence of which

he limps considerably when walking, and that foot turns a good deal out more than common, so as to make the track nearly at right angles with the other foot."

Another is advertised as of "rather a down look when spoken to."

Among the laws published is "An Act Supplemental to an Act entitled An Act to Establish a Planters' Bank in the State of Mississippi." In another column is the following:

"Books will be opened for subscription of 1,500 shares of the stock in the Planters' Bank of the State of Mississippi, at the counting room of Watson & Pope, in Port Gibson, on Monday, the third day of January, 1831."

This was the bank that was succeeding the Bank of Mississippi, the leading financial agency of Mississippi after 1809, with a branch established at Port Gibson in 1818.

The issue of Saturday, February 5, 1831, gives several items of news of which we will quote three:

"Rev. Z. Butler will preach at the courthouse next Sunday."

"A solar eclipse will be visible at Port Gibson for about forty-two minutes next Saturday. It is the most remarkable to happen in a long course of years in the United States."

"A severe blow on Saturday last did considerable damage on the Mississippi River, a few miles below and above this place. Mr. Moore's keel boat, bound for this place, was sunk at the mouth of the Bayou Pierre; her cargo was principally groceries for persons in town. Mr. F. B. Lee is the greatest sufferer, having lost, in sugar and coffee and a few other articles, about \$1,100. Three flat boats from the upper country laden with produce for other markets were sunk and nearly all their ladings destroyed. A boat load of cotton was also sunk. The cotton will probably be saved."

One local firm about the same date advertises a long list of groceries just received from Cincinnati, including 76,000 pounds of bacon, 72 barrels of Rectified Whiskey, 250 kegs of lard, 20 kegs of butter. In October of the same year a sale of pews of the First Presbyterian Church in Port Gibson was advertised to commence on Saturday, 29th inst., at ten A. M. Also appears the following:

"All those who wish to see the operation of the lever cotton press can do so by attending at Mr. Watson's on Saturday the 22d inst."

Though the Port Gibson and Grand Gulf Banking and Railroad Company was organized in the year 1833, it was not until 1855 that the railroad between the two towns began to be oper-

ated successfully. A planter by the name of John W. Thompson owned a toll bridge across the Bayou Pierre; about two miles from Port Gibson. Multitudinous wagons passed over this bridge from regions as far away as the Pearl River, and even beyond, hauling cotton to Grand Gulf and returning with supplies purchased in the Northern markets or from the merchants in Grand Gulf or Port Gibson. Therefore the bridge was a means of great income to Mr. Thompson. The railroad company built up to his land on both ends, but he fought them, winning the suits in the courts, and thus for a long time prevented the completion of the road. In the meantime stage coaches did a thriving business. The *Port Gibson Herald* of July 20, 1849, contains an advertisement of "Reduction in Stage Fare." A four-horse stage was to leave Port Gibson for Grand Gulf and return every day. The fare one way was seventy-five cents; the fare to go and return was one dollar; each passenger was entitled to fifty pounds of baggage; extra baggage was two cents per pound. All packages under ten pounds, ten cents; packages over ten and under twenty-five pounds, fifteen cents, etc. On carrying money the charge was one-tenth of one per cent.

The following is an extract from a report published May 16, 1857, made by H. N. Spencer, President, to the stockholders of the Port Gibson and Grand Gulf Railroad:

"Gentlemen: In making this my third annual report of the condition and business of the road, it affords me pleasure in being able to say that in every particular it has equaled my expectation as expressed in my report, when I gave it as my opinion that the earnings of the road for the year now past would, beside paying current expenses and all necessary repairs, pay at least ten thousand dollars on the debt of the company.

"It has now been doing a through business for two years and four months. Having passed through the excited experience of a novelty with this community, and encountered the opposition of all who had considered themselves for one reason or another called upon to oppose it, I think it may therefore be considered a fixture and as having secured an independence, from the simple fact that it affords a speedier and cheaper transit from Port Gibson to the Mississippi River than can be obtained any other way, and it has established another important fact, which is that, with all the influence that can be brought against it, which is not likely ever to be greater than it has been, it can command business enough, if well managed, to make it good paying stock. The gross receipts of the year, from the 5th of May, 1856, to the 2d of May, 1857, amount to \$27,230.28, against \$22,283.84 for the previous year, showing an increase of \$4,946.44. The disbursements have been as follows: [Here follow a score of items.] Deducting the amount paid on debt and interest, the amount of loss by fire and cash on hand from the year's

receipts leaves \$14,175.26 as the whole amount disbursed on account of the road; and the amount of debt and interest paid and cash on hand makes \$11,490.22 as the clear profit of the road.

"There has been taken over the road during the year 21,571 bales of cotton, against 19,405 bales the previous year and 17,170 the first year. There has been received for passengers \$4,815.35, against \$3,270.45 the year before. The up freight has amounted to \$10,615.13 and the down freight to \$11,242.99, and for mail service \$500.00."

The road was sold in 1881 to the Louisville, New Orleans and Texas Railroad Company, which completed in 1882 and 1883 the line through Port Gibson from Memphis to New Orleans, known at the present time as the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad, and now owned by the Illinois Central Railroad Company.

One of the oldest buildings in Port Gibson is on lot 3, square 1; on this lot a log cabin was erected by Domingo Beloso, a Spaniard, who kept a tavern there. In 1808 he sold the property for \$1,500 to Eliphallet Frazer, who merchandized both at Port Gibson and at St. Albans plantation on Big Black. The house has been improved and enlarged from time to time, and some of the early timbers have been removed; but the present building includes a portion of the original structure. Mr. Frazer, its second owner, was a New Jersey man. He was scalded to death during a trip to New Orleans in 1817, on the steamboat *Constitution*. His grave is still standing in a Pointe Coupee cemetery, near the scene of the accident. Burr's associate, Blennerhasset, was a patron of this house in its tavern days.

Many of the earliest buildings were destroyed by the fire of 1839, which swept away many of the business houses on Main Street. One of Port Gibson's most progressive builders in those days was Cornelius Haring, a New Yorker, who carried on a very extensive mercantile business there, handling over 3,300 bales of cotton in the season from September, 1821, to April, 1822. There were four brothers of this name who came to Mississippi, one of whom, Chester, was killed in a duel at Natchez by a man named Brown. Another, Eleazer, settled in the northern part of this county, and it was he who gave the familiar New York names, Utica and Cayuga, to the Hinds County localities.

Of the fifty business houses in Port Gibson at the present time, the oldest firms are S. Bernheimer & Sons, established in

1847, and Shreve's Drug Store, established in 1852. The former is now in fine new buildings, but J. A. Shreve occupies the same building in which his father, Charles Shreve, started the business. Before coming to Port Gibson Charles Shreve had run a drug store at Grand Gulf since 1838.

Port Gibson and Claiborne County sent sons without stint to the battlefield during both the Mexican War and the War of Secession. Mr. E. J. Smith, born at Port Gibson in 1835, and still living, tells how that, when he, a lad of eleven or twelve, going after plums for his mother, passed down on the Bayou the camp of a company of soldiers waiting passage for the Mexican War, one Moses Gough of the camp, seemingly in earnest, proposed to pay the lad twenty-five cents for every lizard brought to the camp, pretending that soldiers ate them. The boy went on and toiled for an hour or two gathering his plums and stringing lizards. He returned to the camp, and the would-be purchaser laughed him to scorn, saying he had no use for the lizards. But Captain Shivers overhearing, and having overheard the original bargain, ordered the lad to be paid. The lizards, numbering exactly twenty, were counted, the boy in return received five dollars, and returned with joy to his mother.

Claiborne County sent to the front ten fully equipped companies in 1861. Later in the conflict others went. Many who went out as privates and captains rose to positions of distinction.<sup>6</sup>

The battle of Port Gibson, which was fought among the hills and valleys four miles west of the town, May 1, 1863, was one of the crises of the war. The driving back of the brave Missourian, General Bowen, who commanded the Confederate forces, was one of the first of a series of successes upon the Federal side that led up to the capture of Vicksburg. The enthusiasm with which the regiments had been received a few days before was changed to despondency and gloom. A pall was over all. Commerce was suspended; the Female College of the town was turned into a hospital; some of the citizens were held as hostages of war. Mr. A. K. Shaifer, a Confederate veteran, now seventy-four years old, whose home and farm are on the battlefield, is

<sup>6</sup>See "Local Incidents of the War," Cappleman, Vol. IV *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society.*

very attentive to visitors and takes pleasure in explaining incidents of the battle and of visits made in later years to the field by both those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray. The old Magnolia church (now owned by negroes) still stands there, the bullet holes in the sides tacked over with tin. The Confederate picket who fired the first shot of the battle, bringing down his man, stood by the road side in front of Mr. Shaifer's home, and the modest house itself, with its relics, amounts to something of a war museum.

As in most other engagements, so in this one, the Federals far outnumbered the Confederates, and it is thought that the Confederates were not wise in choosing their position. A bronze tablet in the Port Gibson Cemetery gives the fatalities as follows: Union—killed, 131; wounded, 719; missing, 25; Confederate—killed, 56; wounded, 328; missing, 341. Doubtless many of the wounded died; in the cemetery eighty-three graves are marked. The Port Gibson Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy has been active in looking after these graves, and chiefly through their efforts there has been erected opposite the courthouse one of the finest Confederate monuments in Mississippi, unveiled with fitting ceremony on October 26, 1907. The cemetery contains the grave of F. O. Claiborne, Captain of the Third Maryland Artillery, who "died at his guns, Vicksburg, June 24, 1863."

As to the persons of distinction who have lived at Port Gibson, and some of whom were born and died there, only brief mention can be made here.

1. Harmon and Margaret Blennerhasset, having gathered together the wreck of their fortune, bought six miles from Port Gibson, a plantation which they named "La Cache," or "Hiding Place," intending to hide from their troubles, doubtless. But their lives, though ever possessing a social charm, even at La Cache were stormy. Two of their children died. There were troubles with the neighbors; and in 1819 the father and his eldest son, Dominic, were tried in the Superior Court of Claiborne County for an atrocious assault on John Hays, and fined \$1,000. Soon after that they moved to Montreal. Dominic disap-

peared from Montreal in 1821, and was never heard of again. Harmon Blennerhasset died on the island of Guernsey in 1831.<sup>7</sup>

2. Irwin Russell, the pioneer negro dialect poet, spent most of his life in Port Gibson. His parents were married in the parlor of the Port Gibson Female College in August, 1850, his mother having been a teacher in the college and his father being and remaining for many years a prominent physician of the town.

The *New Orleans Picayune* of June 2, 1907, contained an interesting sketch of the poet's life from the pen of Mrs. Maggie Williams Musgrove, and pictures of the houses in which he lived. The Century Company, in 1888, issued a volume of Russell's poems for which there is a steady demand. A marble bust of the poet has been recently placed in the Mississippi Hall of Fame, as the result of a patriotic movement on the part of Mississippians, begun ten years ago, to establish some memorial in recognition of the State's most distinguished literary character. He was born in the old Episcopal Rectory June 3, 1853. He passed through the yellow fever epidemic of 1878, praying and singing with the sick and dying. Early in 1879 he went to New York and was received very kindly by the Scribner Brothers, his publishers. But, sick and restless, later in the year he took ship to return home, and, having reached New Orleans, he died in that city December 23, 1879. His body was frail, but it is believed that he would have lived longer and achieved much greater literary distinction but for strong drink, to which he became a slave in early manhood, his poems having been written during his sober intervals. His pieces were in demand for *Puck* and *Judge*, and especially for Scribner's publications.<sup>8</sup>

3. In the Catholic cemetery may be seen the grave of Resin Bowie, who invented the Bowie knife. The younger brother, James Bowie, was a hero of the Mexican War, killed at the storming of the Alamo.

4. General Earl Van Dorn was born and is buried at Port

<sup>7</sup>For more detailed information about La Cache see Ira M. Boswell's contribution on that subject in Vol. VII of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*.

<sup>8</sup>See "Irwin Russell, First Fruits of Southern Romantic Movement," by Weber, in Vol. II, *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*.

Gibson. He saw service in the war with Mexico and was Major-General in the Confederate Army.

5. Gov. B. G. Humphreys, 1808-1882, was born in Claiborne County. He was the war Governor, elected by the people, and was ejected by military force from the mansion at Jackson by an appointee of the Federal Government.<sup>9</sup> His home near Port Gibson is the present residence of E. W. Whitfield, whose wife, a great niece of Governor Humphreys, inherited it. It was at different times headquarters for both Confederate and Federal armies during the War of Secession, and was the first headquarters in this section of the Ku Klux Klan.

6. Probably the most prominent lawyer who ever lived in Port Gibson was Judge H. T. Ellet. He moved there a young married man in 1837. He was elected to Congress in 1846 to fill the unexpired term of Jefferson Davis. Several times he was a member of the State Senate, and was one of the codifiers of the Code in 1857. He was empowered by the State to prepare manuscript of the code for the printers, which he did in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He was a conspicuous member of the Secession Convention and a member of the committee to draw up the Ordinance of Secession, the original draft of which is in his own handwriting. He was on the Supreme bench just after the war along with Judges Handy and Harris, but he resigned and moved to Memphis and died there upon the platform in 1887, just after having introduced Grover Cleveland to an audience. That he spent the best thirty years of his life in Port Gibson proves how great was the social charm of the place.

The terrors of war in the spring of 1863 scarcely equalled the ravages of the yellow fever in the summer and fall of 1878. Two Howard associations were formed and the members went forth boldly from the first, but as dim lights began to shine in every home, it became evident that other help was needed. The response from the outside was prompt and liberal. Nurses were employed from a distance. Immense sums of money were sent from neighboring towns and from Northern cities, villages, churches and individuals. The first number of the town paper

<sup>9</sup>See "Private Letters of Mrs. Humphreys, Written Before and After the Ejection of Her Husband from the Executive Mansion," by Mrs. Lizzie George Henderson, Vol. III, *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*.

issued after its suspension on account of the death of the printer, estimated the cases up to that date at 1,300 and the deaths 300. This paper says:

"It would be impossible to describe the pestilence when in the height of its fury. From the 8th of August to the 31st fifty deaths occurred, and during that month and September utter silence reigned in our streets—every home was a hospital—the dying and the dead were all around—corpses, just as the victims died, wrapped in sheets and blankets and hurriedly encoffined, were stealthily lifted out of doors, and sometimes out of windows, and buried in haste at sunrise—after dark, by dim lanterns, and frequently lay all night long in the graveyard unburied. The colored people with few exceptions were down with the fever and it proved unusually fatal to them. Very many of them were found doing their duty and some of them were among the successful nurses."

The first academy in the neighborhood of Port Gibson was the Madison Academy, about three miles away, on land owned by William Lindsay. On December 5, 1809, the Territorial Legislature passed an act of incorporation whereby "the school on the north fork of the Bayou Pierre in the neighborhood of Port Gibson, now under the direction of Henry C. Cox, is erected into an academy hereafter to bear the name of Madison Academy, etc.," but it did not prosper, and in 1814 the Legislature authorized its removal to a more eligible site, not to be more than three miles from the town of Port Gibson. Its after fate is not known.

Besides a public school for each of the two races, the institutions of learning located in the town at the present time are the Chamberlain-Hunt Academy for boys and the Port Gibson Female College for young ladies.

Old Oakland College was located in Claiborne County between Port Gibson and Rodney. It stood for years one of the most famous seats of learning in the Gulf States, the alma mater of many distinguished statesmen, jurists and divines. It was under control of the Mississippi Synod. Not being able to pay running expenses after the War of Secession, all its property was sold to the State and established as the Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College for negro youth. This sale paid all debts, with \$40,000 left. This sum was turned over to the Mississippi Presbytery by the synod, with instructions to establish an academy within the bounds of the presbytery, stipulating that the town, where located, must furnish buildings, the above

sum to be kept as permanent endowment, interest only to be used for current expenses. Port Gibson succeeded in getting the academy. It was founded as the Chamberlain-Hunt Academy in 1877, in honor of Dr. Chamberlain, a former honored president of Oakland College, and Mr. Hunt, a most liberal benefactor.

On account of yellow fever the school did not open until the fall of 1879, with Professor Lackey as principal. In 1883 he was succeeded by Prof. W. C. Guthrie, who served the institution for twenty-four years, being succeeded in 1907 by Prof. B. R. Smith. The buildings furnished the academy by the town, namely, the former Brashear Academy being inadequate owing to increased patronage, the trustees about 1898, took steps to raise funds for new buildings, and succeeded in securing a sufficient sum to erect one of the most complete and modern buildings in the South for a boys' boarding school, with a capacity for one hundred boarding students.

J. J. McComb, of Dodd's Ferry, New York, who had lived in boyhood in Port Gibson, gave \$50,000. The cost of the building complete was about \$100,000.

From a recent catalogue of the academy we quote as follows:

"Recently the board purchased ninety acres of land adjacent to the town of Port Gibson, and it is upon this property that the buildings have been erected. A more beautiful or more desirable location could not be found. It is an elevated tract of land—a beautiful park shaded with forest trees of a century's growth, while the ground beneath is thickly covered with a carpet of green."

"The site of the building is the most elevated point of this forest park, overlooking the town of Port Gibson."

Port Gibson Female College was projected as far back as 1826 and under the name of Clinton Academy was incorporated by a legislative act of January 23, 1826; the trustees being P. A. Van Dorn, A. C. France, James Nicholls, Daniel Greenleaf, Benj. Hughes, Isaac Loring, James Moore, A. K. Woolley and James Cotton. They were empowered to raise, by lottery, \$2,000 for erecting the building. The academy was made exempt from taxation to the extent of \$20,000.

By act of Legislature January 31, 1829, the following trustees were appointed: P. A. Van Dorn, A. W. Putnam (a grandson of General Israel Putnam), B. Hughés, Passmore Hoopes, James

Callender. The act provided that the proceeds from taxes on billiard tables and from sale of estrays should go to the academy.

An act of February 12, 1830, changed the name from Clinton Academy to Port Gibson Academy.

In March, 1829, Horace Clark, for the sum of \$3,100, sold to the trustees square 36, subdivision St. Mary, which is its present site. It was organized under the control of the Presbyterians. The erection of the present main building in 1839 put the trustees in debt, and a new set of men (chiefly Methodists) paid it out and assumed control.

On March 3, 1854, the institution was incorporated and chartered as the Port Gibson Collegiate Academy, and in 1881 an amendment was made in the charter, changing the name to Port Gibson Female College. The old minute book of the college does not take the records back of September 11, 1843. On that date the proprietors of the Port Gibson Academy entered into an agreement which is on record. The following parties signed their names as proprietors: D. G. Humphreys, D. S. Humphreys, E. S. Jeffries, Samuel Cobun, H. T. Ellett, G. W. Humphreys, J. A. Murray, Benj. G. Humphreys, Elias Bridges, Joseph Davenport, John S. Chambliss and Peter Chambliss.

The records in the old minute book are evidently not complete, as some of the years are skipped, and sometimes we see that committees were appointed for certain purposes and that there is no record of any report received from said committees afterwards, but enough is given to show that the college has survived a very checkered career. It has had many a financial strait, and it is to be congratulated to-day upon being clear of any debt, save one of old standing for \$1,660, in favor of the stewards of the M. E. Church, South, of Port Gibson, the interest upon which is paid regularly.

The sessions have been consecutive, except as interrupted by the War of Secession, during a part of which the college became a military hospital. John Harvie, A. M., took charge of the school in April, 1844. There is in existence one of the catalogues published by him in 1847; this catalogue is a queer relic. Its dimensions are two by three inches, it was published in New York and is bound in leather. The first graduate was Miss Mary Jeffries, in 1848. She married B. Humphreys, and is

still living, her home being in Port Gibson, a few blocks from the college. Some of her grandchildren were members of the student body during the session of 1907-08. On June 17, 1855, it was resolved:

"That this institution will hereafter confer upon the graduates honors according to merit: first, valedictory; second, salutatory; third, reward of merit; fourth, premium."

At about the same time we find the first mention made of a uniform for the students, the President being authorized to adopt such as might suit his own taste.

The school seems to have attained a state of high efficiency during the administration of Rev. B. Jones, for at a meeting of the trustees in 1861 a lengthy resolution was passed complimentary to him and his wife, in which it is stated that his five years at the head of the institution had secured for it a "high standing among the places of learning in the South."

The following is a list of the different presidents that the school has had: John Harvie, T. H. Capers, Ben Jones, A. B. Stark, A. J. Wright, B. Jones, R. S. Ricketts, T. W. Brown, J. A. B. Jones, T. C. Bradford, Miss Mary Compton, W. H. Huntley, Mrs. M. H. Meek, L. S. Jones and H. G. Hawkins. The degrees have usually been M. E. L., but now and then we notice an A. M., for instance, Miss Cato, in 1880. The school had one male graduate, Branch Mayes, who received the degree of B. P. in 1879.

The boats upon the Father of Waters are distinctly audible in the college during the still hours of the night. Excepting the narrow valley of the Bayou Pierre, the region is very hilly, one might say mountainous. The landscape views from some of the heights are superb.

The college occupies a block of land in the beautiful residence portion of the town. It once owned other land to the south and east, and it is now making effort to regain the half block just east which, fortunately, is vacant, and which will be needed by the school as it develops. In the old catalogue issued by Mr. Harvie the value of the building was estimated at \$30,000. Since then there have been the additions of a brick dormitory and a small frame dormitory. The college is the property of the Missis-

sippi Conference, M. E. Church, South, but students of all denominations are in attendance, and at the present time the school is enjoying a good patronage of both boarding students and local. The literary course leads to the A. B. degree, and there are departments of Music, Art, Elocution, Dress-making and Commerce. The school is organized with a president and eleven other teachers and officers. The students have two literary societies, Sunday-school, Epworth League, basket-ball and tennis teams. There is issued a modest quarterly, *The Gibsonian*, which, besides serving other useful purposes, recounts the events of the sessions as they come and go.



## YAZOO COUNTY'S CONTRIBUTION TO MISSISSIPPI LITERATURE.

BY JUDGE ROBERT BOWMAN.<sup>1</sup>

Several decades ago the whole country, particularly the South, had many humorous, hyperbolic, satirical writers, whose risible productions had an extensive circulation and were eagerly read and greatly enjoyed by all classes. Among the authors of that style was William C. Hall, of Yazoo County, who lived in the neighborhood of the town of Satarria. He was a facile, sparkling, piquant writer and hypercritical of the peculiar manners and idiosyncracies of some of the inhabitants of his section. These people were pioneers of that part of the country who had emigrated from different States during the years of 1830-40. They were in the main of sterling integrity, honesty, industry, thrift, hospitality, patriotism, and piety. They felled the virgin forest, cleared and cultivated the soil, and each year increased in property and other forms of wealth. Many were members of the Methodist and Baptist Churches, there being no other denominations at that time in the county.

Bear, deer, panthers, and many other wild animals abounded in the forest, and a great many lakes, some of which have gone dry and become cultivated fields, as well as the Yazoo River, were filled with fish and alligators. These pioneers were great hunters and fishermen, and, as was the habit then, when they met together they often became slightly lubricated with booze, and would relate wonderful exploits of fierce encounters with bear, panthers, snakes, alligators and other fierce animals, as well as the marvels that occurred to them in fishing.

William C. Hall hyperbolized in humorous burlesque and caricature their wonderful tales. He put into their mouths Munchausen stories of bear hunts, deer drives, fishing, and other wonderful exploits. He not only held the men up to ridicule and laughter, but sometimes pictured in grotesqueness and ludicrousness the daughters and wives of some of them. At that time

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<sup>1</sup>A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 59, 60.—EDITOR.

ladies' bustles had just come into fashion, and Mr. Hall related, as an actual occurrence, that a daughter of a well-known citizen, describing her so that her name and identity were recognized, attended a camp meeting and, being converted, began to clasp her hands and shout and sing "hallelujah! hallelujah!" when suddenly she ceased shouting and began to scream in great fright and alarm that a snake had climbed upon her under her dress. The ladies of the congregation gathered quickly about her and sought to rescue her from the bite of the poisonous reptile, when cautiously feeling around her they thought they had in their grasp the deadly serpent and, giving it a sudden jerk, out came a long string of stuffed pork sausages.

Mr. Hall, finding that the people, or rather those who figured prominently in his articles, had become much incensed, moved to New Orleans, and the father of the young lady, who had figured as the heroine of the sausage scene, as well as in other scenes, followed him, and threatened to give him a sound thrashing as soon as he reached New Orleans, but they did not meet, and Mr. Hall escaped a fierce encounter. This man was a prominent member of the Methodist Church of his neighborhood, but he never learned to obey that divine rule, "Whosoever shall smite on the right cheek, turn to him the other," and "Pray for them which despitefully use you."

Mr. Hall came to Yazoo, where he had been reared, shortly after the close of the War of Secession, and, meeting Mr. H., one of the heroes of his sketches, in a public road, spoke to him and announced who he was. Mr. H. leaped from his horse and, seizing him, sought to pull him off his horse, saying that he had vowed to the Lord to give him a beating if they ever met again. Hall asserted that he had no ill feeling, that he was afflicted with rheumatism and couldn't fight, and if he were whipped he would write other pieces, but if they parted in peace he would never write anything more about his assailant. They parted in peace. These sketches or articles were first published in the New Orleans *True Delta*, a paper of large circulation, and afterwards issued in booklet form. Mr. Hall died many years ago in Yazoo County.

Dr. Henry Lewis, a native of Ohio, came as an orphan boy to Yazoo about 1840 and lived for a time as a laborer on a farm

near Yazoo City. He studied medicine under Doctor Dorsey, and in early manhood wrote many humorous and funny sketches of the peculiarities of manner, habits and customs of his age. His work was published in book form entitled *Swamp Doctor*, elicited much interest, was extensively circulated in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta and was much commended for its facetiousness and its felicity of style. He also wrote some beautiful poems, which were much admired. One was entitled the "Dark Yazoo." After removing from Yazoo City to another place in the Delta to practice his profession Dr. Lewis died at an early age. He was regarded by his contemporaries as a man rarely gifted intellectually and as a happy, felicitous writer.

Demosthenes Walker was reared from early boyhood in Yazoo County. He became proprietor of the *Yazoo Democrat*, and was later appointed consul to Genoa, Italy, by President Pierce, but died on his voyage to that city. He was the author of several literary productions, among which was a book of nearly 200 pages, entitled *Stanley, or Playing for Amusement and Betting to Count the Game*. The great bane and leading vice of the "Southern gentleman" before the war was playing at cards, chiefly the game of poker, and betting and drinking wine or brandy freely while the game was progressing. They did not visit gambling houses, as a general rule, but met in social gatherings, composed of gentlemen, and, while pretty large sums of money were lost and won, cheating and other devices of professional gamblers were unknown, and its practice was considered a disgrace and was a certain cause of ostracism. The prominent characters in *Stanley, or Playing for Amusement and Betting to Count the Game* were able lawyers, doctors and wealthy planters. They often met in these social games, and the habit of drink increasing until reason and judgment were drowned, large fortunes were lost, business neglected and some were brought to poverty and ruin. Some of the characters were won back to sobriety, good morals and Christianity by kind and devoted wives and daughters. The scene of this acrid romance was laid in Vicksburg and its vicinage.

Mrs. Harriet N. Prewitt, for many years before the War of Secession editress of the *Yazoo City Whig*, was a bright, sparkling and beautiful writer. She was the author of some tales, a ro-

mance and also some beautiful poetry. She, too, has been dead several years.

Judge Robert B. Mayes compiled, before the Confederate War, about the year 1856, a digest or synopsis of the laws of Moses, showing that they were the fundamental principles of all civil and criminal law, as well as of all good government and of hygienic and physical science. He also wrote a book on baptism, contending that immersion was the true Biblical theory.

In the year 1900 a book of beautiful and well written poems by Mrs. Jennie Noonan Wheless, of Yazoo City, was published, entitled *A Wayside Flower*, which contains one piece with that title and about forty others, all of which bear the impress of mental inspiration and poetical genius. Pathos and a sentiment of purity and sacredness permeate every line of each poem, and they seem to be the inspiration of a Christian heart. The book contains about seventy pages, forming a compilation of intellectual gems. Not only Yazoo City, but the State of Mississippi, should feel a pride in having such a writer.

Yazoo County can boast with pride and generous elation of another bright, graceful and sparkling literary writer, Miss Evelyn Purvis, a native of this county. She has recently compiled a volume of her poems, which abound in sublime and pure thoughts, clothed in graceful and elegant language.

In the years of 1840, when Benton was a prosperous town in the County of Yazoo, a newspaper was published in that place and had as contributor I. S. Michie, a facile writer. Daily papers were almost unknown, even in large cities, and the few published had no circulation in the county. Mr. Michie subscribed for the *New York Herald* and a New Orleans paper. From these he gleaned items which he wreathed into romance, highly colored, and was thought at the time by many people to be a remarkable writer. At that time it took the papers from New Orleans several days and those from New York over a year to reach the little town of Benton.

DIARY OF A MISSISSIPPI PLANTER, JANUARY 1, 1840,  
TO APRIL, 1863.

BY FRANKLIN L. RILEY.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DR. M. W. PHILIPS.

Dr. Martin W. Philips, the author of the following diary, was born in Columbia, S. C., June 17, 1806. At the age of twenty-three he was married to Mary Montgomery, daughter of William Montgomery. In the early thirties he and his wife removed, with the family of William Montgomery, to Hinds County, Miss. The two families settled adjoining homesteads in the forks of Big Black River and Fourteen Mile creek, about eight miles southwest of the present town of Edwards. Dr. Philips' new home was a log house, pretentious in that day, from which was derived the name of his plantation, "Log Hall." In after years the building was weather-boarded and ceiled, as were most of the primitive log homes of the pioneer settlers after their owners had succeeded in their farming operations. Although the other houses which Dr. Philips erected have long since disappeared, his residence is still in existence, being now occupied by tenants. The plantation, to the operation of which the diary is devoted, now belongs to Mr. B. V. Montgomery, a nephew of Dr. Philips' first wife. The dwelling consists of four rooms, with a stack chimney. It has a front porch, but no passageway or hall.

Several years after Dr. Philips settled at Log Hall (about 1853 or 1854) he formed a partnership with Dr. Robert Kells, a native of Pennsylvania, who had recently begun the practice of medicine at Edwards. Although Dr. Philips had completed his medical education, he preferred to devote his attention to planting operations. It is said that he graduated in medicine in Philadelphia. To provide for the comfort of Dr. Kells, a room was added to the west end of Dr. Philips' original home, with a hallway between the two buildings. This room has since been removed. Dr. Philips also erected another building, which he called "Bachelor's Quarters," for the accommodation of the numerous guests who were attracted to his hospitable home.

In the rear of the Log Hall dwelling was built a kitchen for the use of Dr. Phillips' family, and a "cook house" for his slaves.

A few hundred yards to the east of his dwelling, across a valley, was the house of his overseer. Behind this house were the homes of the slaves. About three or four hundred yards north of the Log Hall dwelling were numerous barns, sheds and enclosures for his produce and live stock. A gin stood about the same distance to the southwest from his home.

Soon after the removal of Dr. Kells to Log Hall he was married to Dr. Philips' only daughter, Mary, and in this way became closely identified with the management of the plantation. He did not, however, forsake his profession, as is shown by the fact that he became one of the most prominent and successful physicians in the State. Capt. W. T. Ratliff, of Raymond, says:

"Dr. Kells was an educated, intelligent, practical man. He succeeded in the practice of medicine, made money, and took care of it. If there were ever two men brought together under the same roof the antipodes of each other in the matter of money making, it was these two doctors, and yet they seemed to dwell together in harmony. When I moved to Edwards, in 1856, Dr. Kells seemed to me to be 'running things' except as to Dr. Philips' experimental patches. So far as the farm was concerned, the Pennsylvania doctor was making as many bales of cotton to the hand as any of the neighbors."

Dr. Kells later removed to Jackson, Miss., where he resided during the remainder of his life. For a number of years he had charge of the State Insane Asylum. He was a public spirited citizen, and was particularly interested in promoting the educational interests of the country. "Kells' Cottage," in Clinton, Miss., was built out of a bequest which he left to aid ministerial students at Mississippi College. He also provided in his will, written in 1888, for the support of Dr. Philips during the remainder of his life.

Log Hall was an ideal plantation. Dr. Philips took great pride in its embellishment, making it one of the most attractive places in the State at that time. Between seventy and eighty acres were devoted to his orchards, gardens and groves. An apple and peach orchard embraced about fifteen acres; a peach orchard, twenty-two acres; a pear and peach orchard, twenty-five acres; flower and vegetable gardens, four acres, and groves about ten or fifteen acres. It is said that his pear orchard contained as many as sixty varieties of pear trees. In his peach

and apple orchards were to be found the most desirable varieties of these species of fruits.

The walk from his front porch to his flower garden, about fifty yards, was bordered by boxwood hedges. Between his house and flower garden was a wild peach hedge. The three other sides of this garden were marked by a pericanthus hedge. Farther away from his dwelling were hedges of Cherokee roses, aggregating more than a mile in length. Osage orange hedges, several miles long in the aggregate, practically surrounded the plantation, marking the limits of his possessions. His dwelling was approached by a beautiful double driveway, extending on each side of a row of pecan trees, three hundred yards long, and bordered by wild peach hedges. His flower garden was artistically laid off in beds, which contained many varieties of flowers and shrubs. In the beautiful grove near his house were numerous trees, shrubs and vines, both native and exotic.

His fowl yards contained a great variety of chickens, ducks, pigeons and other domestic species of fowls. It is said that his pigeon-houses were places of unusual interest and that his carrier, fan-tail and other breeds of pigeons added greatly to the beauty of the place. One of his most valued flocks was a large number of quails, which Dr. Philips had domesticated, but which strayed too far away and were unfortunately captured in a net by one of his neighbors, who thought that they were wild birds.

One of the large rooms in his home was devoted to his library. On his book shelves were to be found many valuable works—among them the choicest specimens of Latin and Greek literature, as well as books of a scientific, historical and political nature. He owned a complete set of Audubon's *Birds of America*, *The Works of Jno. C. Calhoun*, *Speeches of Daniel Webster*, lives of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and numerous other statesmen. He also owned sumptuous editions of Byron, Scott, Shakespeare and other English classics. His carefully preserved files of agricultural papers and reports were considered a mine of information by the farmers of his day. As he was a regular contributor to the agricultural journals and the magazines of those times, articles from his pen will be found in *De Bow's Review*,

*The Southern Cultivator*, and numerous other ante-bellum periodicals.

In 1863, the period at which this diary closes, Dr. Philips was forced to flee from Log Hall before the invading army from the North. As his model plantation suffered greatly from the ravages of war, practically all of his houses except his dwelling and a few cabins having been burned, he never returned to it after the close of hostilities.

At the conclusion of the war, Dr. Philips settled at Magnolia, where he engaged in the nursery business. He later edited with ability a popular agricultural journal, *The Southern Farmer*, published at Memphis, Tenn. In 1872 he was placed in charge of the newly created Department of Agriculture in the University of Mississippi with the title of Adjunct Professor of Agriculture and Superintendent of the University Farm. Although the Agricultural Department did not succeed, its failure was due more to circumstances than to any lack of ability on the part of Dr. Philips. Dr. Hilgard, in a report to the board of trustees of the University (1873), says, "Few men laboring under similar difficulties would have accomplished as much as Dr. Philips is able to show." After the abolition of this department in 1875, Dr. Philips became Proctor of the University, which position he filled until 1880 with great credit to himself and to the institution. In the minutes of the board of trustees of that institution appears the following entry under the date, June 19, 1875:

"Resolved, That we, the Board of Trustees of the State University observe with pleasure and satisfaction the improvements beautifying and ornamenting the campus and grounds of the University, and that our thanks are due Dr. M. W. Philips, Superintendent of the farm, for his laborious and assiduous labors in that direction."

Dr. Philips died in Oxford and was buried at that place in 1889. His first wife died at Log Hall, January 19, 1862. He was later married, in Columbia, S. C., to Rebecca Tillinghast Wade, the eldest daughter of Thomas H. and Rebecca Wade. His second wife lived in the home which he had provided for her in Oxford, Miss., until her death in 1901.

Dr. Philips was greatly interested in the cause of education. He was one of the founders of the oldest existing college for young women in Mississippi—Central Female Institute, now Hillman College—at Clinton, Miss. He was a member of its

first board of trustees and advanced money to Dr. Walter Hillman, its first president, to help establish that institution. He was also one of the early members of the board of trustees of Mississippi College after that institution passed into the possession of Mississippi Baptists. He was a prominent member of the Baptist denomination and attended many of its State conventions and associational meetings. He was an uncompromising Democrat, though many of his neighbors were staunch Whigs. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity and was prominent in local Masonic matters.

The following extract from a letter written by Capt. W. T. Ratliff gives a characteristic incident in Dr. Philips' life:

"My first acquaintance with Dr. Philips was while a student of Mississippi College, he being one of the most efficient trustees of the institution. It was, I think, in the year 1854, while soliciting money to purchase books for the library of the Hermenian Society that I encountered the Doctor on the college campus, and made known to him my business. Without a word of inquiry from him as to who I was, or the plans and purposes of the Society, he took a five dollar coin out of his pocket, handed it to me, with some kind expressions for the Society, and was off without waiting for me to thank him, except as he went."

Dr. Philips' neighbors did not consider him a successful farmer and were inclined to make sport of his extravagant expenditures of money on blooded stock and on agricultural experiments. He was generally characterized as a "freak," a man who "farmed on paper." The final results of his farming operations as shown by his dairy will doubtless acquit him of the charge of absolute failure as a planter.

One of Dr. Philips' intimate acquaintances says of him that "he was a friend of every good cause and was so little concerned about himself that he could always find time and ways of helping others." He was pre-eminently an investigator. His traits of character, more or less contradictory, may be briefly summarized as follows: He was honest, kind, generous, impetuous, self-willed, liberal, cultured, aesthetic, progressive, studious and scholarly.



## II. DIARY OF A MISSISSIPPI PLANTER.<sup>1</sup>

In commencing a new year, we have resolved to strive to economize time and money, and by a just use of both strive to make ourselves useful and honest.

The past year has closed, and with it the farming business of the year. Log Hall was under the management of Mr. Thos. Fitzhugh, and whether the result of his good farming or the season he certainly made a very fair crop. Working 21 hands, he saved 97 bales, averaging over 400 lbs. to the bale; about 700 bushels of corn, a fine lot of oats, about 400 bushel in house, on the 1st of November according to his opinion, and enough pork to serve the farm.

Log Hall will be this year, and hereafter, under the exclusive control of Zachariah A. Philips,<sup>2</sup> having been compelled, in justice to my family and creditors, to sell to him, giving him time to pay off my debts, thus insuring their being paid, without the sacrifice property is now going at, and above all preventing security debts sweeping everything, and my securities suffering thereby: should one or two debts for which I am endorser, and which debts are due worthless banks, be pushed against my property, all would go; not a debt of my own contracting paid, and myself a bankrupt. "Let every tub stand on its own bottom."

I shall strive to get into some kind of employment until times change for the better. Mississippi is now paying penance for her past extravagance—and the worst not come.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The editor of this diary acknowledges with pleasure his indebtedness to Col. W. A. Montgomery, of Edwards, Miss., for valuable assistance in the interpretation of its pages.

<sup>2</sup>Zachariah A. Philips was a younger brother of Dr. M. W. Philips, having been born in 1814. As he was not a married man, he seems to have spent much time at Log Hall with his brother, though there is no evidence to show that he ever assumed active management of the plantation. He was at one time in control of a wagon factory at Jackson, before the War of Secession. He afterwards had charge of the manufacturing department of the State Penitentiary.

<sup>3</sup>Reference is here made to the disastrous financial panic of 1837. See Riley's *History of Mississippi*, pp. 237-238; also Baldwin's *Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*.

This year Z. A. P. will work 13 hands, including men, women and children; will plant about 100 acres in cotton, 50 acres in oats, between 45 and 50 in corn, and about 4 in potatoes and grapes. If he makes this year 75 bales, 1,500 bushels of corn, 1,500 of oats, with vegetables and bacon, he will do well—and ought to do this.

### JANUARY, 1840.

1. We have now gathered the whole crop, although not yet done pressing, but will to-morrow. Our cotton-book calls for 104,908 lbs. of seed cotton, and we have pressed 66 bales, weighing 30,099 lbs., averaging 75 bales and 99 lbs.

Housed about 1,000 bushels, having been using sometime previous, using about 10 acres of the very best of the corn. If corn had been better cultivated we would have exceeded expectation. 25½ loads (frame body) cut and housed of the oat crop; not having threshed any we know not the number of bushels.

Threshed out 21 bushels of peas and hauled in a great number of pumpkins.

25. Since the 1st day of January we have been engaged in clearing the new ground, cleaning up, deadening and grubbing in the piece of ground added to field No. 1 in front of house. Jacob has laid off piece No. 1 for corn, and is now plowing with two mules and large plow, followed by Viney in the same furrow deepening the furrows, but not exposing subsoil to atmosphere. Sowed 22 acres in oats. Finished ginning this night.

30. Received a lot of Durham cattle, 18 head, from Mr. C. J. Blackburn of Kentucky.

31. Finished baling. Cold, ugly weather.

### FEBRUARY, 1840.

1. Snow.

3, 4. All hands cleaning and burning brush. Amanda, daughter of Peyton and Amy, born A. M. 4th.

5, 6. Jacob and Viney plowing in No. 1, other hands in clearing.

7, 8. Rain.

9. Henry, son of —— (so she says) and Eliza, born A. M. 9th.

- 10, 11. Cutting up logs in our oat field and working in old burn.
12. Rolling logs with 4 hands in oat field. Jacob and Viney finished plowing No. 1. Women and Charles in old burn. Jerome sick.
13. Women and Charles in old burn, Jacob and Viney plowing in oat field, Nanny and Jerome sick.
14. Peyton and Ned mauling; Jacob and Viney plowing; balance clearing; Jerome and Nanny sick.
15. Four hands cutting up and rolling in oat field the logs that were burnt down and blown down since the 12th; Green hauling logs out of new ground; Jerome and Gilbert with women in clearing; Jacob and Viney plowing.
17. Rain last night; first lamb last night.
18. Rolling logs in new ground with 8 hands; Louisa and Viney grubbing; balance burning brush; a beautiful spring day.
22. Since the 18th been working in new ground; 2 hands mauling; putting up grass fence north side; to-day rolling logs in new ground with 8 hands; commenced pulling and knocking down cotton stalks with the small chaps; Nanny and Viney firing log heaps.
24. Six hands rolling nearly all day; Cyrus to depot for sundries; Green hauling lumber from Mr. M.'s<sup>4</sup> mill, and rails; children beating down stalks; Nanny and Viney firing [log heaps and brush]; a fine day; peach trees in bloom several days.
25. Cleaning out new ground fence row with 4 hands; women and children burning brush; hauling cotton seed in potato patch; Charles, Jacob and Viney breaking it up; finished at 3:30 o'clock, then went to oat field; M. W. P. left for Sharon.<sup>5</sup>
26. Jacob, Charles and Viney plowing in oat field; Green hauling rails around new ground; Fellows chopping; women and children burning brush; Flora, fine bull calf.
27. Jacob, Charles and Viney still breaking up oat field; sowed this 10 acres of Egyptian oats and brushed them in by

<sup>4</sup>Mr. A. K. Montgomery is here referred to. He was an uncle of Col. W. A. Montgomery who is at present a trustee of the Mississippi State Penitentiary.

<sup>5</sup>Sharon, Madison County, Mississippi.

Green and oxen; balance of hands in clearing, except Cyrus, who sowed the oats, and then laid worm of new ground fence.

28. Four hands in oat field, balance in new ground.

29. Still plowing in oat field, finished all save one acre; part of the oat field was plowed, then the oats plowed in, part was plowed and oats brushed in, and part was plowed in without any previous preparation; planted 2 barrels of Irish potatoes, in 78 rows, being  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet apart, and sets planted 8 to 12 inches apart; sets large. They were planted thus close through mistake, understanding M. W. P. that distance instead of  $3\frac{1}{2}$ . Made division fence west of potato patch, Green hauling; all hands putting up fence around new ground; 6 lambs, one stray, and 4 dead.

MARCH, 1840.

1. Sunday; morning pleasant, rain in the evening; spayed and cut pigs; spayed a heifer calf.

2. Rolled logs with 6 hands in new ground; finished plowing in oats; Gilbert breaking out baulks in corn field; women rolling and beating down cotton stalks; Jacob sick; Amy commenced work this day; rain about midday. The spring has every appearance of having opened; forest trees budding out; cotton up where good seed thrown out; planted peas in garden this day.

3. Jacob and Cyrus cross-plowing for corn; Gilbert and Charles breaking out baulks; Ned and Viney hauling cotton seed for manuring corn; balance of fellows chopping; women and children beating down cotton stalks; preparing to plant corn.

3. Gardening this day; planted peas, onions, radishes, spinach, leek, lettuce and pepper grass; garden not in fine condition, too busy at other things; 14 lambs, very small and poor; cattle look badly, hogs look well.

4. Jacob laying off corn rows; Gilbert breaking out baulks; Ned and Viney hauling cotton seed; fellows chopping; women and children burning brush; a beautiful spring day; we weighed this day the listed sow pig, weight 58 lbs.; a spotted sow pig, 45 lbs.

5. A Durham calf this day,  $\frac{7}{15}$  Durham, from a  $\frac{3}{4}$  Durham

cow, Emma Harraden; 6 hands rolling logs, very heavy work—more heavy logs than on any land we have ever cleared—gums, gums; Gilbert finished breaking out baulks in corn field and now opening out the furrows for planting; women and children burning brush and firing log heaps. Not finished planting in garden, sowed beets to-day.

6. Durham calf this day, 7-15 Durham, from Black Maria, common stock; 5 plows running to-day plowing in oats, there being 22 acres planted in Egyptian oats but no stand up—have waited about three months; Jerome and Peyton in new ground, also Nanny; 2 hands hauling manure; the young chaps knocking down stalks. There seems some bad luck, or bad management, with sheep, notwithstanding there are 35 ewes we have now only 15 lambs; some half dozen have died. What is the matter I cannot divine. Cattle are also in bad order, but calves so far are fine. A beautiful day, and fine weather all this week. Winter has gone and spring is marching on, hailed with exultation by the chorists of the air, and met at every step with flowers.

7. Six plows in oat field to-day, will very nearly finish; sowing now about  $\frac{1}{4}$  bushel per acre. We have sown a part next to the rye at the rate of 2 bushels per acre, the next 10 acres, about center of field from east to west, at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bushels, planting thus to know the difference. December 30th oats were all bad, but those next to the rye were *best certainly*. Jerome and Ned chopping; Nanny in new ground; 2 hands hauling manure; balance threshing down cotton stalks; fine, clear, dry weather; everything working smoothly; hard times everywhere.

8. Sunday; left for Jackson and Brandon; postponed till Monday to eat a piece of fat turkey.

9. Rolling logs with 6 hands; Ned and Louisa hauling cotton seed for manuring corn; planted about 8 acres of corn between house and gin house; Amy dropping corn, children scattering cotton seed and Gilbert and Viney covering; rain this evening.

10. Rained a little this morning, cleared up beautifully about 10 o'clock; Jerome, Cyrus and Peyton chopping in clearing; Green and Charles hauling manure till finished; Charles pulled down the shed opposite calf house; Green hauled timbers and

boards for Armstrong to make a shed for oxen; Ned and Louisa hauled cotton seed in potato patch and corn field; Jacob laying off in potato patch, then in pasture for oats; Nanny and Amy with the children drawing up potato beds; planted a few sweet potatoes this day.

11. Rolling logs with 6 hands; planting corn opposite house; Jacob opening water furrows; Gilbert and Viney covering, Amy dropping; Nanny setting log heaps on fire; Louisa and children scattering manure and drawing up potato beds; 18 lambs; nearly cold enough for frost.

12. Still rolling logs, 6 hands; boys get along very slow, but such heavy work, can't hurry; Jacob, after finishing opening corn furrows, commenced laying off for cotton (rows 5 feet apart) in gin house cut; Gilbert and Viney finished covering corn, then to oat field; women and children drawing up potato beds, and planting.

13. Cyrus, Peyton and Charles plowing in oats in pasture; Jerome and Ned deadening timber in clearing; Gilbert and Viney finished in oat field about 12; women finished planting potatoes; Viney grubbing; commenced plowing for cotton this day.

14. Three boys plowing in oats in pasture, 2 deadening in new ground; when finished, commenced to clear up brier thickets in cotton field; Jacob laying off hill by gin house; Gilbert and Viney throwing 2 furrows together in gin house cut; Amy and children knocking down cotton stalks; cloudy, rain at night.

#### 15. Sunday.

16. Rained this morning, cleared off by 10, then rolled logs in the cotton field with 5 hands; Green and Jack hauling logs together; Jacob laying off, and Viney throwing 3 furrows together; Ned sick; women and children knocking down cotton stalks.

17. Four plows running to-day; Jacob laying off; Cyrus and Gilbert using double plows and Viney a small one; Jerome and Peyton chopping logs in cotton field; Charles and Louisa clearing up hollows, briars, the rest (Ned sick) knocking down stalks; 22 lambs.

18. Rolled logs to-day in cotton field with 5 hands; Cyrus,

Jacob and Viney plowing; Louisa clearing up hollows; Nanny firing log heaps; Amy and children threshing down cotton stalks till evening, then picked up chunks; Ned sick; the logs in the cotton field have been very hard to roll on account of the negligent overseers that have been here for the last three or four years. I have had nearly as much trouble to clear up the hollows of bushes, briars and logs as would have rolled the cotton field entirely. Very heavy rain last night, thundered and lightened a great deal.

19. Finished rolling logs in cotton field, had 6 hands at it; Louisa, Viney, Gilbert and Amy cleaning up hollows; Nanny firing log heaps; a very heavy rain last night; Jacob commenced laying off about midday; the small chaps threshing down cotton stalks; remarkably warm; many planters in Warren [county] have their cotton planted and corn up ready to scrape; 24 lambs.

20. Six plows running to-day; Jacob laying off; Cyrus, Peyton, Charles, Gilbert and Viney throwing 2 furrows together; Jerome, Ned and Green rolling logs out of hollows until 10 o'clock, then commenced mauling rails; Nanny firing log and chunk heaps; the women and children cleaning up and pulling cotton stalks in new burn; found 1 lamb dead; rain.

21. Six hands plowed until rain drove them home; rain stopped about 12, then all hands rolled logs and burned brush in clearing. We have had rain every day or night this week, save one; water very high, low burn overflowed, 2 or 3 feet under water; cold enough for frost; corn up.

22. Sunday; bad, ugly day; 24 lambs.

23. Six hands rolling logs in new ground; Nanny firing; Jacob laying off; Gilbert and Viney throwing 3 furrows together; Louisa and Amy cleaning up hollows; children knocking down cotton stalks.

24. Rolling logs again to-day; same work with other hands.

25. Peyton breaking up for millet in grass lot; 4 plows breaking out baulks preparatory to planting cotton; Jerome and Ned mauling rails; other hands as yesterday; Louisa sick; planted some Guinea grass. The times seem so hard, that no one could think would be worse; the ablest men in the land cannot raise money; a vast number broke; many are running off with their

negroes. *The State is bankrupt*; never was there a time when insolvency was more general. *The Shylocks are only safe*.

26. Planting cotton in gin house cut; plows breaking out baulks, other hands employed as yesterday; frost this morning.

27. Planting cotton in gin house cut; breaking out baulks; Louisa sick; Ned and Jerome mauling; Green hauling rails; knocking down and rolling stalks by Nanny and gang; Durham cattle (14) strayed off.

28. Six hands rolling logs in new ground; Jacob and Amy finished planting the gin house cut early; women and children cleaning up in new ground; Cyrus hunting cattle; finished rolling logs on new ground; I think at least 10 days' rolling in about 15 acres, besides having hauled outside a great many logs; rain this evening.

29. Sunday; rained nearly all day.

30. All hands in low burn, chopping old logs, bushes and piling brush—"Oh, no"—Cyrus hunting cattle; Ned and three women made up fence from new ground to low burn; M. W. confined to his bed.

31. Charles and Peyton commenced plowing new ground with shovel plows; Viney covering cotton that was sown last week; Gilbert plowing; Jacob commenced laying off in new burn; Jerome and Ned with women and children cleaning up old burn; Green hunting oxen and Cyrus hunting the Durham cattle; found 5; *heavy frost last night*.

APRIL, 1840.

1. Two plows in new ground, 3 in cotton ground breaking out baulks; Cyrus in search of cattle, other hands in burn field.

2. Same work continued; Cyrus found the cattle; *2 acres of millet*.

3. A continuation of same work.

4. An uncommon heavy rain this morning; fellows cutting rail timber; women raking up manure; holiday in afternoon; 2 wagons hauled each a load of corn from Mr. Montgomery's<sup>8</sup>; corn out; enough was made to have done the farm, but extra

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<sup>8</sup>Dr. Philips' father-in-law. It might be interesting to note in this connection that the buying of corn or meat by a farmer was at that time considered an evidence of a lack of thrift.

hands and extra stock with some extravagance have consumed all; corn selling this year at 50 cents per bushel. The frost on the morning of the 31st killed gourd leaves, squash, nipped corn, a stalk several inches high several blades cut off, but no cotton the least killed—much up as volunteers where stock has fed, and in the garden.

5. Sunday.

6. Bees swarmed and saved this day; *spot has eight pigs*; 6 hands planting cotton, about 20 acres planted; 2 plows plowing out baulks; Jerome and Green cutting on edge of swamp in burn field; women planting potatoes where washed up by rain; cotton planted 26th and 27th, ult., now coming up.

7. Rain this morning; fellows cutting rail timber for pasture, women righting up fence; Cyrus gone to mill; too much rain, and the heaviest washing rains I ever saw; planted watermelons and muskmelons.

8. Rain again this morning; fellows cutting rail timber, women righting up fence; Amy and Viney grubbing in corn field.

9. Four hands plowing and planting cotton, part of the mules being in the swamp; women cutting out fence row of pasture; Jerome and Green splitting rails.

10. Same work as yesterday with fellows; women and children clearing in burn field.

11. Cyrus opening for cotton; Jacob running around corn with scooter plow; Charles, Ned, Peyton and Viney plowing in the new burn field; Green hauling timber for sheep house; Jerome and women clearing up burn field until evening, then they worked Irish potatoes; a beautiful stand of cotton in gin house cut; millet coming up, resembles crab grass very much at this stage. The past week has been very wet, thus rendering all work heavy and disagreeable.

12. Sunday; rain about 8 A. M.

13. Two plows bedding up in burn field, 1 covering cotton in front of gin house cut, 3 the greater part of the day running round corn; hoe hands working over corn, have done about 11 acres; corn is small for its age, but in good order and very easily worked; cotton coming up finely in front of gin house; gin house cut very fine.

14. A continuation of the same work; 2 plows in the afternoon in new ground; finished working over corn this evening.

15. Rain at 8 A. M., with wind; commenced scraping cotton this morn, the earth being so heavy not more than 4 acres done; 2 plows in burn bedding up, and 1 in the cotton barring off; Jacob went, after the rain, for a load of corn.

16. Scraping with women and children and Jerome, Peyton and Green; Viney covering the cotton sowed last week; Jacob barring off; Charles in new ground; balance plowing in burn field; clear and pleasant.

17. Same work as yesterday, except 1 plow opening and 1 dropping cotton seed in new burn.

18. Rain last night about 3 A. M.; finished scraping gin house cut; nearly finished planting and plowing in the burn field; never saw better stand of cotton; corn is growing very fast; about 5,000 buds of the *morus multicanlus*<sup>9</sup> on the 12th day of March, and notwithstanding there has been frost since, and after some of them had sprouted and then stopped by carriage. We have now about 1,500 plants, many of them are a foot high. The cuttings were planted too thick, 3 buds to all that was planted while I was away. Those that I planted on the 10th of April were only 2 buds—now growing finely. Heavy rain with some *hail* about 4 o'clock P. M., and continues to rain, but now very moderate, 9 o'clock. Armstrong and Frank nearly covered the sheep house, 30 feet by 16.

19. Sunday; rain all the day.

20. Fellows mauling rails; women and children cutting down bushes in the oat field; Durham calf, the red cow, no white in her face; planted drawings of yam potatoes.

21. Finished planting cotton this evening; planted  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of ocra cotton in rows double, 5 feet beds; scraping cotton in front of gin house and above burn spring—heavy work, but made good speed, about 8 acres; swarm of bees saved.

22. Jacob and Ned barring off cotton, balance of hands, except Cyrus, together with Isaac and Edward, scraping cotton; scraped about 12 acres; Cyrus sheared 23 sheep, 61 lbs., many having shed most of their wool, many sheared 4 lbs.; lambs of

<sup>9</sup>The *morus multicaulus* is a variety of the white mulberry, "at one time largely cultivated for silk worms" (Mohr's *Plant Life of Alabama*.)

1839 sheared 2 lbs., even a July lamb did so; one of them that was sheared in the fall, 2 lbs., gave this day 2 lbs.; a fine, clear day; millet about one inch high, some Guinea grass 6 inches.

23. Finished shearing at noon, 17 ewe lambs, 4 buck, and 4 castrated; 20 lbs. wool; flying clouds, and wind high; a very fine day's work in scraping, one of the best ever done on the farm.

24. Equally, if not a superior, day's work of same.

25. Finished scraping the large cut, making now about 75 acres scraped, and done by 10 o'clock, indeed a fine week's work; all hands in old burn chopping and cleaning up until 12 o'clock, then holiday.

27. All hands now working in the old burn, clearing up and rolling logs.

28. The same as yesterday; rain in afternoon.

29. Rain last night, very heavy; fellows mauling rails; hauling corn; women, etc., cutting out growth in the hollow next to gin.

30. Cyrus, Charles and Gilbert in new ground with Jack, planting corn; Jacob plowing old corn; balance of hands in old burn; Viney, after running around corn.,

Jacob and Viney commenced plowing the corn in front of the house on Monday. Jacob has a double shovel plow, Viney a Dudley. How the double plow will do, can't say, having been absent.

Corn very fine, over knee high; sweet potatoes up finely; millet now about 4 inches high; Guinea grass 8 to 12 inches; Irish potatoes in bloom; rye headed out; beans in bloom; sweet potatoes, yams, set out in beds yesterday by gin house; working over sweet potato patch; Isaac and Charity cleaning potatoes.

I am fearful we are giving too much time to burn field and striving to get in too much, the season being very wet and the heaviest rains I ever knew fall in such succession; distant thunder with frequent flashes to-night.

MAY, 1840.

1. Commenced scraping in burn field; 1 plow barring off, 2 the best part of day in old corn; finished planting new ground

corn, except the part that was too wet; rain last night, cloudy nearly the whole day. The air so thin and quiet that I heard a steamboat in Mississippi River.<sup>10</sup> Thunder about sundown, very distant.

Cotton looks very fine thus far, notwithstanding the constant rains. We have concluded to feed mules on the half of what corn usually fed on by giving cut oats, and not giving corn until pretty well filled with the oats—12 ears of corn at night and 5 in midday; 2 hours' rest at midday; 35 ears has been the feed until yesterday.

2. Jacob hauling timbers for cattle shed; the other hands in burn, scraping—rather more than half done—get along slow, owing to cotton seed not being covered, it being wet when planted. Mostly clear to-day, but to-night windy and air soft.

Found it necessary to put Emily and Helen (Durham cows) into oat field; the former so poor not able to get along.

3. Sunday; very windy to-day. One *mule killed by falling of a tree.*

4. Jacob, Ned and Charles plowing corn; pumpkin seed planted to-day; finished new ground corn, and Gilbert and Viney barring off; other hands scraping in new burn; sweet potatoes cleaned; Irish potatoes in bloom some 5 to 7 days.

5. Finished scraping about 5 o'clock P. M.; commenced hoeing over corn, although in good order, but desirous to give it a thorough working; nearly done plowing the corn, 4 plows at it after Viney finished barring off.

6. All hands at the hoe in corn field, and finished it in one day, a very good day's work; cloudy late in the evening, *a shower;* wind high to-night.

7. Maria Taylor's first calf, ♀ Durham, by Lorenzo; commenced scraping the second time below gin house; all hands at the hoe; about 3 o'clock P. M. driven in by rain; now nearly nine, raining ever since. More rain than I ever saw fall; now raining hard and has nearly all the while. Cow lot fence, though very high and heavy, has been swept away in two places; it has been in, or near, present situation 6 years and never moved before. I dread to see the morrow, with its watery tidings.

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<sup>10</sup>The nearest point on the Mississippi River is about twelve miles from Log Hall.

8. Sad havoc with cotton, gullies now where never a wash; all loop heaps in burn field afloat, water over spring and all the field, except from hill to spring; fence gone at the back of field. What a pretty day after so hellish an afternoon!

All hands in the woods, mauling and putting up pasture fence. In the afternoon, took 3 boys in burn to float out logs, etc.; succeeded finely; try again to-morrow.

9. The day was so cold we did not try the water again; falling only about 30 inches since yesterday at 5 o'clock, now 8 o'clock P. M.

Plowed up cotton in the flat of gin house cut, washed up and died out. On finding so much of sweet potato ground washed up, took all hands in it, gave it a thorough working and replanted all missing, now a full stand and in fine order. Planted some drawings amongst corn where missing. Part of new ground corn covered an inch or more with earth from the adjoining field by the very heavy rain.

Uncomfortably cold with a coat buttoned all day. Clear at night, but cloudy all day.

10. Sunday.

11. A fine Durham calf out of Martha Bryant by Lorenzo; morning quite cool, midday warm in the sun, air cool; cleaning out gin house cut; 2 plows and Maria replanting the flat in this piece, much washed up and drowned out by rains.

12. All hands in gin house cut; getting along very slow, but are kept very steadily and busily at work. Heavy dew, now, 8 o'clock P.M.; green peas and beans today.

13. After finishing gin house about 10 A. M., commenced in front and cleaned out very prettily 10 measured acres; 17 big and little, old and young; a ewe brought up 2 lambs today, now 27 in all. Dust in chopping already.

14. Hands have done an excellent day's work, about 13 acres cleaned today. Earth getting very hard, in many places close and stiff.

Finished cattle house, 50 by 18 feet, 12 feet high.

15. Two plows in new ground corn, part a good stand, some 2 acres must be planted over. Hoe hands in front of gin house. Have visited Alex. Montgomery's<sup>11</sup> place today. The rain has

<sup>11</sup>Dr. Philips' brother-in-law. The plantation on which he lived is situated on Fourteen-mile creek. It is now owned by Dr. Elliott.

ruined his crop, one-half of his cotton crop washed up, levee washed away in many places, fencing gone for about a mile, low ground washed greatly, no idea of the injury. No one can describe, water higher on the levee by 11 inches and in low ground by three feet. He will lose at least 100 acres of cotton—will plant over. This freshet has been general in this section.

16. Four plows in the new ground corn today, and all hoe hands since 9 this morn. We have now cleaned out about 1-2 of the corn.

This week we have cleaned out about 45 acres of cotton and 7 of corn, giving all a good working. Oats just commenced heading.

17. Sunday.

18. Absent today at Raymond to attend Marshall's sale of "Log Hall," but no sale.

Three plows in new ground corn, hoe hands as on Saturday, finished working and plowing corn and planting that overflowed.

19. Six plows in cotton in gin house cut. Hoe hands where they stopped on Saturday morn, in the hills of the cut in front of gin house.

Cloudy yesterday and much appearance of rain today, several light sprinkles of rain, very warm. Crop improving very much.

20. A continuation of the same work. Plows finished in the gin house cut at 10 o'clock, those running round, the others not until 5 P. M. Clear and warm.

21. Six plows in old corn, *giving it the last working* and sowing peas at same time; in fine order, about shoulder high, fine color. Now corn in the bunch, a tassel or so in sight. Finished cotton in front of gin house 12 M. After hoe hands had finished the cotton in front of gin house they fired the brush and logs in old burn. I find the new burn so hard and dry that I conclude to dirt with plows before hoes.

22. Sent hoe hands over to assist Alex. K. Montgomery out of his overflow. Plows in corn, plowed yesterday about 15 acres.

*Guinea grass now as high as my head, the best of it.*

23. Hoe hands still at Montgomery's. Plow hands in cotton in front of gin house. The three that plowed round corn finished on the 22d at noon; the other three today about 10 o'clock. Clear

and very warm thro' the day. In evening wind sprang up, blowing fresh, cloudy, at 9 a few drops of rain.

24. Sunday. No rain last night. The entire crop is growing off very finely, but the ground very hard, a moderate rain now desired but not required, fair crop.

Weighed the three pigs today. Listed one weighed 111 lbs.; white, 92; spotted, 87.

25. A fine rain in the afternoon of yesterday and too much last night. Too wet to plow or hoe. Fellows getting rails, hauling corn; women raking up manure.

26. All hands in new burn, plows running round, hoes cleaning and dirtng after the plows. Nights cool.

27. Plows finished running round in new burn at breakfast, then went to cut in front of gin house, running round, so as to get the strong mules in the old burn to plant corn, intending to break out middles with light mules. Hoe hands get on slow.

Cotton improving much, crop looks well. First corn tassel out. *Bees swarmed and saved* (28th) and off this day.

28. Hoe hands doing well today, cotton not so foul; plowing done better and soil not so heavy. Plow hands finished running round the cut in front of gin house; two now breaking out middles and two double plows in the burn since dinner, preparatory to planting it in corn.

29. Hoe hands finished new burn at 12 M., then cleaned out sweet potatoes near gin house and pindars. Then commenced gin cut for the *third working*, 2 plows breaking out middles; two double plows in burn, slow.

Crop improves very fast, oats in head fully. Beets, Irish potatoes and squashes for several days.

30. Hoe hands in the gin house cut, fair day's work, three plows in the same before hoe. Two double horse plows in old burn. Sold to Mr. M. Baldwin<sup>12</sup> two Durham cattle, Lorenzo and a heifer, \$300.

31. Sunday:

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<sup>12</sup>Baldwin's plantation was near Baldwin Ferry on Big Black River. It is now owned by Mr. Walter Newman, nephew of Mrs. Albert Newman, who was a daughter of M. Baldwin.

JUNE, 1840.

1. Same work continued. Plows finished about 4 o'clock, having run around nearly 12 acres today. Hoe hands cleaned and earthed the same. 11 negroes, big and little.

2. Hoe hands in cut before gin house until midday, then burning off brush, etc., in old burn. Green plowing double plow in burn, four plows in new ground corn, two in cotton in front of gin house. Rye ready to cut, oats will average 3 feet.

3. Hoe hands nearly all day in the burn field. Balance of hands as yesterday. Coffee's bull dead, cause unknown.

4. Hoe hands in cotton in front of gin house, some 2 or 3 hours in the burn field, chopping down sprouts and righting up heaps.

Plow hands except two in the burn field breaking up where the double plows could not run, pretty nearly done. Finished the plowing in new ground corn today. Cut rye today.

Coffee's bull died yesterday. I saw him about 10 o'clock, nothing I knew of the matter, and Watson saw him dead before night. Don't know any cause.

5. Planting corn in burn field. Two plows still breaking out middles. Hoe hands in cut, front of gin house.

Very dry and sultry, air stirring tonight from the south. No part of the crop suffering, but rain would help all.

6. Rain A. M. Planting corn with four mules. Two plows still breaking out middles, slow. Hoe hands as yesterday.

Several Durham cattle sick, discharges of bloody urine, drooping, no disposition to eat.

7. Sunday. One of the 1-2 blood cows and one of the red heifers, white face, dead. I cannot name the disease. They have been in the swamp for a week past. When up before were doing well; now none look so well, bad management in leaving them there, but intended for the best.

8. The heifer that lost her calf on Sunday died today. Hoe hands commenced new ground corn today. Plows finished planting corn in low ground, part of it very rough. Cotton blooms.

9. One of the twin heifers dead. Hoe hands in corn; plows all in new burn cotton. The sickness in the lot of Durham cattle is astonishing, and truly very discouraging to even a man who possesses more perseverance than I do. I cannot attribute

it to any bad management, nor to anything else but the climate on very badly wintered stock. They were mostly all very poor when they came, and so far all that were in the worst condition have died. But it is natural to lay the blame to other's doors. Rain about 6 P. M.

10. Hoe hands finished corn at 10 A. M. Then in front of gin house. Plows in new burn, plowing well done, pusley large in the middle. The other 1-2 blood Durham *died* last night. One looks badly yet.

11. Hoe hands in front of gin house. Plow hands finished burn about 1 o'clock, two days 1-2 work for 6 plows. Plowed this afternoon the cotton we intended plowing up. We found 1-2 stand, and thought it better with corn in missing spots than late cotton.

Mrs. Phillips and Mary left for Oktibbeha County on the 10th June.

12. Ned cutting oats, ripening very fast; Gilbert plowing gin house cut where not finished yesterday afternoon. All hands at the hoe in front of gin house except the two named. Corn coming up in spring field.

13. Duchess and Martha died today. Finished cut in front of gin house about 11 A. M. Then worked sweet potatoes.

14. Sunday, clear and very warm.

15. Finished working potatoes. Three hands cradling oats. Green hauling corn-house timbers. Balance in new burn cotton.

16. Same work continued. Thunder with lightning.

17. Rain last night, not enough for good. Same work as yesterday; hands all tying up oats afternoon of yesterday and today.

18. Light rain last night and this morning, and a very pretty rain in afternoon, scarcely enough for old corn.

Two plows in gin house cut before dinner and three after, balance of hands in new burn. Planted pumpkins in spring field. Three large loads of oats hauled.

19. Light rain at daylight. Four plows in lower cut. Hoe hands in spring field cleaning out corn. Finished new burn at breakfast. Cut the field of millet by side of new ground corn. It yielded more than I expected. Now plowing it for sweet potatoes with double horse plow.

Durham cattle, though very poor, eat very hearty, and appear to be doing well. I fear to hope they are safe. They now require lots of food at least.

20. Ripe peaches. Hoe hands in young corn in spring field; good stand, and looks well. Four plows in lower cut, finished it. All hands, but two plows and Green, in the oats after dinner. Three loads hauled this evening, 4 hours. Ned has been plowing one of the millet patches for potatoes. Green commenced plowing oats field for corn and peas this afternoon.

Cloudy mostly the past three days, with occasional light mists of rain, though altogether would not make a season.

21. Light shower. Jacob hauled 5 loads of oats *Sunday* as it is.

22. Another shower, 6 p. m., cloudy and very pleasant. Six plows in big cut of cotton; Green plowing in oats field for corn and peas. Hoe hands in burn field. Patty sick, a rising on abdomen. Jerome out, Nanny sewing.

Weather so unsettled we cannot cut oats. 17 loads of oats now hauled.

23. Rain today about 3 p. m., light shower, cloudy all day.

Hoe hands not yet done spring field. Plow hands doing fair work and pretty well done, Green slowly.

24. Hoe hands finished spring field about 9 A. M. Then went to lower cut. Plows in cut, front of gin house. After dinner Gilbert and Green, with 2-horse plows and oxen, plowed up the millet patch that Ned left, and after went into oats field. Pusley very fine.

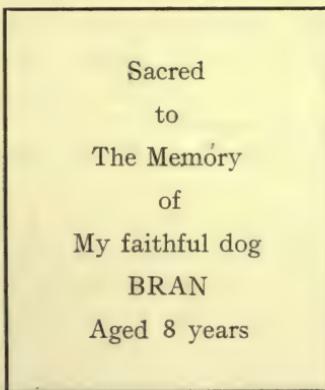
25. Cyrus and Ned cutting oats. Balance of hands as yesterday.

26. M. W. P. left for Jackson. Hoe hands finished lower gin cut, potato patch and piece of cotton above spring field spring. Charles and Viny finished plowing in big cut by 2 o'clock. Charles plowing with double plow in new burn, and Viny harrowing middles in lower cut. Jacob and Gilbert hauling rails to make up division fence in oats field. Cyrus and Ned cutting oats. Green plowing with oxen in oats field. Three hands from the mill got here today about 4 o'clock, Bartlett, Woodson and Sibley. Maria sick.

27. Hoe hands in cotton opposite gin house, Charles and Viny as the evening before. Jacob hauling oats. Hands raking up and piling oats, hauled 7 1-2 loads; in the evening made division fence in oats field; gave Maria tartar.

28. Sunday. Hauled one load of oats today, making in all 25 1-2 loads.

29. Jerome with hoe hands in big cut, Green and Gilbert plowing in oats field with 2-horse plows, Cyrus and Charles running around cotton in burn, Jacob plowing out middles with cultivator. I like them very much, they answered in that field where there is lots of pusley, both as plow and harrow. Ned, Frank and Maria sick. Viny harrowing in gin cut. Old Bran died last night, cause not known.



30. Hoe hands in big cut getting on well. Two plows and cultivator in burn field, two two-horse plows in oats field; Viny harrowing gin house cut. Ned sick, but out hunting cattle. Maria sick, not much.

JULY, 1840.

1. Jerome with 8 hoe hands in big cut. Plow hands finished burn field. Planting corn and peas in oats ground with 5 plow hands and 2 droppers. Viny with cultivator in burn field. M. W. P. gone to Vicksburg. Sibley and Maria sick. Green plowing in oats field.

2. Hoe hands in big cut. Ned, Peyton and Woodson splitting rails and chopping timber. Plow hands finished in oats field about 8 o'clock, and after went into spring field, plowing corn. Green finished in oats field, then commenced hauling rails. Viny, as day before; Sibley sick. M. W. P. gone to Jackson.

3. Hoe hands finished big cut, then cleaned out *twin* cotton and cut down the bushes on the outside of burn field fence. Plow hands in spring field get along very slowly, the other hands as day before.

4. Holiday. Much folks drunk today, reckson so. Patriotism will tell! Our folks all home, and all sober, "case in for one resin, jest case we hasn't got nohow, anything wha fa make drunk come."<sup>13</sup>

5. Sunday.

6. Thunder, a light, very light sprinkle of rain. Plow hands in spring field. Green hauling, balance of fellows, except Jerome, getting rails. Ned cut millet today, a very heavy yield indeed. Very dry, rain wanted very much. Hoe hands cleared up small pond in spring field, then cutting bushes outside of the new burn fence.

9. Absent to Mr. Nathan Bryant's<sup>14</sup> on 7th, 8th, and returned today to dinner. Plow hands finished spring field on midday the 7th. Hoe hands all in spring field hoeing corn very slow and worst day's work since we left, ever on the place. Seven fellows getting rails.

Weighed the millet off of 7 yards square of land and yielded 80 lbs. down weight. Measured by Z. A. S. and weighed by M. W. P. equal to 8,000 lbs. to the acre.

10. Hoe hands have finished spring field, balance of hands as before.

12. Sunday. Owing to irregularity of work and the nature of it we have not thought it necessary to keep a daily journal of work. We have been engaged in putting up pasture fence, cleaning up the hollows and abrupt hills in the field, getting rails for fence and lots.

The corn and peas planted in oats field have come very fine,

<sup>13</sup>This peculiar expression is doubtless of Indian origin. It is not a colloquialism at the present time.

<sup>14</sup>Mr. Bryant lived at Bovina, Warren County, Mississippi.

notwithstanding no rain since planted; not a full stand in places. The entire crop needs rain, very dry indeed. All stock now in oats field.

17. Exceedingly hot and dry. Fellows getting rails for lots. Jerome and women clearing around fence west side.

Louisa sick for two days past, disease "prolapsus uteri," with some fever. Gave her rhubarb and cr. tartar and pills (out of calomel), rhubarb and aloes, 2 doses. Sibley sick, taken with vomiting, dose of pills.

18. Sibley, biggest kind of ague. Dose of pills, then quinine. A very fine rain. Planting potatoes.

19. Sunday.

20. Rain again today. Finished planting potato ground, being now about 4 1-2 acres planted. Plowed up millet and Irish potato patch, and preparing for turnips, have a quart of seed to sow. Threshed out one bushel of millet seed. Raising corn house 50 by 38.

We mortals are hard to please. We are now fearing too much rain, every appearance tonight of more rain. Rain will now injure cotton, and any more at present will benefit nothing; the entire crop is now promising. Cotton is now about 3 feet high, but very full of bolls, forms and blooms. I counted today a chance stalk and find 25 bolls, nearly grown. New ground corn in full silk, spring field corn about head high (6 feet); the corn for stock not a good stand up, it has been too dry; peas very fine.

25. Sowed turnips on the 23d, about 1-5th of an acre, having plowed, cross plowed, harrowed, sown and harrowed. Jerome and his gang working young corn (for stock). Fellows getting rails and hauling to fence row. Have cut out fence row for lots and brushed off sheep lot and cow lot, about 6 acres.

Cotton growing very fast, shedding forms. Counted bolls and forms on "ocra cotton;" average about 70. Corn very fine. Cut tops on old corn past week, one-half badly wilted. Very heavy rain on the night of 22d. Frequent rains since 18th; enough, enough.

29. Jerome with women have been cutting undergrowth opposite blacksmith shop; finished hoeing young corn; other hands chopping and mauling. The choppers and maulers get along slow, but the weather is so hot and such bad timber to maul that I

can't push them. Cotton open on the 22d, 2 bolls to a stalk. M. W. P. and A. K. Montgomery left for Starkville. No sickness.

31. Hands doing as day before. Received yesterday from depot 669 pounds of bacon. Got up a dun heifer with a splendid calf, the prettiest calf I ever saw.

AUGUST, 1840.

3. Since hands stopped mauling, have been chopping and making fences for pastures. 4 lots fenced off, enclosing 20 acres. Not a case of sickness in black family.

7. Since the above date the boys have been in clearing, deadening timber. Jerome with women hands has cleared out the eastern side of the oats field and moved out the fence on the section line. Cleaned out the morus multicaulus and the garden and got into the clearing yesterday.

Charles sick half of yesterday, out today; Nanny laid up this evening.

9. Sunday. All hands have been in the clearing since the last date. A light shower yesterday, quite cool since. "Sibley had today a bigger ager than tother."<sup>15</sup> Cotton opening fast. The late corn that was planted for stock is nearly destroyed by bugs and cut worms. Sowed turnips on Friday last; got the seed from the ferry.

13. All hands in clearing, except Cyrus making baskets. Nanny has been in bed since Saturday; Amy down since Monday, chill and fever; Viny down yesterday, out today; Jane sick since Tuesday, fever; an emetic yesterday, oil this morning, now a hard chill. Last turnips sowed, up.

17. Commenced picking cotton on 14th. 5 hands from breakfast picked 424 pounds; picked part of Saturday. Nanny, Jane, Bartlett and Jack laid up. Two hands in cotton field today, Cyrus with Armstrong. Others pulling fodder. Rain at night. Sowed turnips on Saturday last. Frank, Louisa and Maria on a visit to Raymond.

18. Sale of "Log Hall" took place yesterday, bought by Mr. Anselom Lynch for \$840. Frank, Louisa and Maria also sold to

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<sup>15</sup>The expression here used is a quotation from a slave.

Mr. Lynch for \$540. And now if any friend will go forward and redeem said property, and sell to my wife, she will be protected anyhow. Although the writer has gone farther for friends than most any other man would, yet none will now return even the "due," let alone more. Such men have their reward. *They will make money.*

21. Ned and Woodson topping cotton yesterday and today; Sibley hauling timbers for shed at gin house, etc., yesterday and today; Cyrus assisting in getting the timbers at gin house yesterday and today; all else in the cotton, except Viny and Green—not much the matter with either, but sick, they say. Fodder taken up without rain, 4 loads now hauled in and one more shocked up.

24. Sunday. M. W. P. left for his family. Eliza and Gilbert sick. Have been picking cotton in big cut since Thursday morning.

25. Cut Guinea grass this morning close to the ground.

28. Picking cotton in burn field. Woodson very sick. Cyrus and Frank laid up, but not bad off. Sibley sick yesterday, and Moses much better. A great deal of sickness now everywhere. Mr. Montgomery has some fifteen or more down, and all of the neighbors equally as bad. There has not been a case here this summer that I would call a difficult one to handle. Woodson is now bad off on account of stuffing himself with meat and greens after a dose of calomel and ipecac.

30. Sunday. Finished yesterday picking over the whole field first time, turned out 13,229 lbs, gin house cut turning out 1,510; big cut, 7,370; and burn field, 4,349. All hands (except Peyton and Jacob) have been down with fever; now sick, Frank, Cyrus, Woodson, Sibley, Jack, Jane and Paris. I have never heard of so much sickness in my whole life, everybody down. Black Betty died this day. Weather exceedingly warm and dry. Bacon out.

#### SEPTEMBER, 1840.

8. From last date up to present time the hands have been picking cotton, except what were sick. As much sickness as nec-

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<sup>16</sup>It seems that this was hardly a bona fide sale, as subsequent entries in the diary show that the slaves here referred to remained continuously on the plantation until they were again sold some time later.

essary. Ned and Bartlett are now down and have been one week laid up.

Cut up corn in gin house cut; commenced pulling spring field fodder with 8 hands. The chocolate heifer (Durham) had a heifer calf this day, very fine.

10. Finished spring field fodder yesterday evening and today made one double stack; the rest not dry enough to take up; corn very good.

11. Finished taking up fodder in spring field, turned out but little more than half that I expected, making in all two double stacks, well cured and without a rain. I don't know whether it is always the case, but new ground fodder has been more trouble to pull than old ground and not half the turn out, owing to the small size of the blades. Ned and Bartlett better, Maria with slight fever.

16. Cyrus and Ned sheared sheep on Monday and Tuesday last, very late, but could not borrow or buy a pair of shears until yesterday. Bought two pair.

Sickly season nearly over, three laid up yesterday, not much the matter.

22. More sickness: Green down for a week or ten days; Jack and Eliza had chill and fever today—ipecac, rhubarb and cream of tartar; James with high fever today, unlucky boy, has been down three times. Mrs. Watson lost her mother on Friday last and a child this evening. Sickness has thrown me back in my cotton picking very much. Not one day for four weeks past but I have had from 2 to 8 down.

Got the gin-stand home on Saturday last, repaired by Mr. Woolly at Utica. Finished picking over the whole cotton field a second time this evening. The different fields turning out as follows: Gin cut, 4,588; big cut, 15,355; burn field, 11,709; the whole, 31,652 plus 13,229 equals 44,881.

23. For the first time in 2 months all hands out. God grant it may be healthy from this out. Surely we have had enough sickness. James was very bad off yesterday eve and last night, better this morning. Dick died last night, curse such luck. I forgot to mention above that the turnip patch was sowed over again on Saturday. Cloudy with slight sprinkling of rain, wind N. E.

29. Finished picking over the gin house cut yesterday about 2 p. m., yield, third time, 10,358 lbs.

OCTOBER, 1840.

10. Z. A. Phillips left this day on a visit to our mother and sister in Alabama. Sent Woodson and Gilbert to be sold.

The past week has been very fine for saving cotton, hands have done well, considering so little cotton open. Now going over the third time. Saved four wagon loads of late corn stalks for winter food and three loads of pea vines this week, and have heaped up several loads yet. Hoed part of turnips today.

Jane a little sick yesterday and today—Cr. tartar and rhubarb; Milly sick—Cr. tartar and rhubarb, yesterday, calomel and ipecac, 4 doses of 5 grs. calomel and 1 ipecac today. Complains of head, some fever, but skin moist.

15. Most of day raining. Four hands pressing cotton, pressed 8 bales averaging 477, thus proving that putting tools in good order nothing is lost.

21. Hauled in 12 wagon loads of corn out of field in front of the house, turning out over 400 bushels. I think 450, as most of the corn was well tramped in by myself from the start. No doubt that the old part of the whole yield averaged full 35 bushels per acre. The hands were employed yesterday and today breaking in and hauling corn and pulling peas. Pressed 8 bales on the 15th, averaging 482, another in the press, and ought to have got out 10 bales, but the rope was so infirm that much time was lost in breaking ropes.<sup>18</sup>

22. Sent this day to depot 5 bales—No. 1, 487 pounds; No. 2, 484 pounds; No. 3, 472 pounds, marked S. T. N.; No. 1, 501 pounds; No. 2, 495 pounds, marked A. and G.

Cooler than has been this month so far; as warm as summer.

25. I think there was a light frost on 22d, but there is no mistaking that there is this morning a heavy frost.

26. Another frost; potato vines, multicaulus, etc., all killed by yesterday's frost. Sue only 3 pigs yesterday morn and Spot has this morn only 5. Hauling corn out of spring field; 4 loads today. Hauling pumpkins with 1 yoke of oxen in small wagon.

<sup>18</sup>Reference is here made to the primitive mode of tying cotton together in bales by means of ropes.

Sent to A .K. Montgomery 5 bales as part due him for corn, etc.—No. 6, 489 pounds; No. 7, 470 pounds; No. 8, 495 pounds; No. 9, 473 pounds; No. 10, 438 pounds.

30. Sent two loads of cotton to depot today—17, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30—and the 10 bales averaged 12 of 400 pounds each. Pressed 7 bales today; another in the box.

Sent off Charles, Viny, Green, Sibley and Bartlett on the 26th. I may have acted wrong, but I only ask my own, and having the means in my own hands, I am unwilling to put any more at stake, by trusting to white men, especially as Fitzhugh once gave me permission to sell after writing me a severe letter and ordering me not to sell. I do not think the negroes will even pay at present price what he is due me, for cash advanced, and now my property is advertised to pay a debt of his that will take two negroes to pay.

31. Pressed the residue of cotton now ginned, 4 bales—No. 15, 441; No. 16, 467; No. 33, 435; No. 34, 451. Cyrus and Maria, with four mules, have ginned at the least calculation 16 baies in ten days, remarkably—bad work.

#### NOVEMBER, 1840.

3. Yesterday being regular sale day of the Marshal of the Southern District of Mississippi, all the property I owned in 1839 in this county, except what was sold on August 17, was sold, and A. K! Montgomery<sup>10</sup> became the purchaser, 16 negroes, cattle, sheep and hogs selling for \$4,090.

Thus we are sold out, but fortunately a friend was able to advance the money and give my wife time and opportunity to redeem; so we can take a new start, and with prospects flattering, that is, a fair prospect of paying ultimately the honest debts contracted by us, and in the meantime afford a support to our family and educate those providence has placed in our charge. *May the period soon arrive when we may owe no person.*

4. Today and yesterday digging potatoes; far superior to last as to size and quantity, though still an inferior crop; half the land dug yielded a very light crop. *Will not do to plant sweet*

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<sup>10</sup>A brother of Dr. Philips' wife.

*potatoes in rich land.* Hauled up fodder out of spring field and pumpkins yesterday and today.

7. Pressed 7 bales, weighing No. 35, 436; No. 36, 458; No. 37, 459; No. 38, 445; No. 39, 466; No. 40, 480, and Skinner, No. 1, 459.

10. Lady has this day 6 pigs. All hands in cotton field except Ned; cotton very light.

17. Durham calf this day sired we suppose by Nullifier out of a red sided cow and white back, being one of old "White Back's" stock. Baldwin sow, 8 pigs today. Hauled on the 12th and 16th 10 bales that were pressed on the 31st and Nov. 7.

22. After a light rain yesterday at 3 P. M., this day has cleared off finely; cold but pleasant. In 10 days more of good and steady picking we will have completed our cotton crop; cannot exceed our expectations. (See January 1, 1840.)

Blankets—Gave Cyrus and children 2, Jerome and Milly 2, Liz 1, Jacob 1, Charity 1, Amy 1, Patty 1.

23. Hauled up today out of new grounds 4 loads, averaging 50 bushels each; the ox wagon body holding 158 square feet of corn slip shucked.

24. Pressed 4 bales today—Skinner, No. 2, 431; No. 3, 435; No. 4, 402; No. 5, 403.

26. We have this day finished gathering corn, having one-half of our corn crib full, say 1,000 bushels. This with what we have used gives an average of full 30 bushels to the acre. Hauled in a vast number of pumpkins, far more than we ever made before, and more in the field. Threshed out now altogether 21 bushels of peas.

Zachariah A. Philip returned yesterday from Alabama.

Polly 6 fine pigs yesterday morn and one more dead.

27. Pressed this day 6 bales—Skinner, No. 6, 446; M. No. 1, 478; No. 2, 468; No. 3, 451; No. 4, 466; M. No. 5, 469.

30. Warm and appearance of rain. Cotton in big cut turning out quite light. Ned out all day after lost sheep, found 14; not home.

#### DECEMBER, 1840.

4. All hands today at work at cistern, digging and hauling brick.

5. Snow last night.
6. Sunday. All hands at cistern yesterday again, and will take another day. Cold, cloudy and disagreeable since the snow on night of 4th.
10. Mr. John F. Watson was kind enough to loan me his fine bull Jersey, and added thereto by his more than kindness in driving him down himself. 'Tis thus neighbors should be. Weather very warm. I saw a bat out. Warm for several days.
14. Killed the sorrel steer today and weighed as follows: 170, 208, 188, 182—728 pounds, which cost \$20 and trouble of butchering—in fine order, 30 pounds of tallow.
- A Mr. Godwin now working on cistern, having now put one coat on wall.
15. Put up the beef today, having had it well soaked in water so as to get the blood out; then took 4 pounds of salt, 4 pounds of sugar,  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce of saltpetre, and would have taken  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce of pearl ash, but used only a small portion to the cwt. of beef.
18. Finished cistern. Pressed three bales and took one out: M. No. 6, 434; No. 7, 378; No. 8, 413; No. 9, 395.
19. Received from A. K. Montgomery 3 hogs weighing 204, 230, 170—604 pounds, for 3 pigs in exchange. Killed four hogs this morn—142, 180, 118, 164—604 pounds.
20. Snow last night about 10 o'clock and rain after, near or quite all night, but light. Strawberry a heifer calf yesterday.
24. Very pretty weather all the past week. Finished picking cotton on the 22d. Pressed 4 bales today and the fifth in the press, not quite enough.
29. Killed 5 hogs this day—184, 144, 192, 133, 150—803 pounds.
30. Jerome and Edward cutting up logs in new ground, having finished orchard and oats fields; Cyrus, Maria and Jane ginning; Jacob hauling manure in garden. We have now hauled into garden about 40 good 2 yoke loads. Ned and Peyton spading in garden; about 2 days' work of both to spade one-quarter of garden. Spread on each bed about 50 bushels of cotton seed besides the manure. Now hauling the muck in the bayou.
31. Finished ginning today.  
This day closes the year 1840, with all its sorrows and joys, with all its pains and pleasures. May the Ruler of all things

so order all that the coming year may be more propitious to all men, and if it can be, that I may have less of the bitter dregs incident to man. This year has been to me full of sorrows and anxieties. Thou Ruler of the world, judge with mercy and punish with moderation, guard and protect us, guide our footsteps, that we may not stumble in thy paths, and keep us ever in the same.

To the close of the year 1840, ever gone.

#### JANUARY, 1841.

1. The past year, with all its troubles, perplexities and pleasures, is past, and in casting our thoughts retrospectively we might wish to change our situation, though more reconciled to things that are, knowing them willed by the Omnipotent hand of the Deity, but with no better knowledge of his ways.

We find ourselves better fixed as to improvements, having our fixtures (as to housing), provender, and our stock of cattle, hogs and sheep better and longer. Our crop was cultivated with ease to all, though not as large as it should be, partly owing to heavy spring rains, chinch bugs and the worms, but much owing to want of culture. This was not to be attributed to inability or neglect, or want of knowledge, but to the necessity of improving the property and preparation against the sale of negroes. Our crop was nearly as much as we anticipated.

This year there will be no barrier, we humbly trust, to good culture and good management. We commence the year buoyant with hope, and trusting by proper and due exertion that our Ruler in heaven will reward us with an abundant harvest.

We plant this year in corn 73 acres, our principal crop; cotton, 95 acres; oats, 55 acres; millet, 5 acres; potatoes, 4 acres; vegetables, 4 acres, and pasture, 13 acres—242 acres. And anticipate to gather of corn 2,200 bushels; cotton, 75 bales; oats, 15 loads; millet, 15 tons, and potatoes, 750 bushels.

Pressed 4 bales of cotton today, being late when we got bagging: No. 14, 428; No. 15, 492; No. 16, 464; No. 17, 445. Still hauling manure and working in the garden.

2. Finished pressing cotton to-day—No. 18, 424; No. 19, 433; No. 20, 432.

6. A very heavy rain, overflowing spring field and new ground cornfield.

9. Two lambs this morning. Commenced with all hands in clearing yesterday; today the women, Jacob and children putting up fence and hauling; Cyrus laying worm, if no more rain.

10. Sunday. Cloudy and cold. One more lamb.

12. Jacob hauling yesterday and this morning until breakfast rails on the west side of orchard and millet patch. Cyrus having laid the worm, and Louisa, Maria, Jane, Jack and Amy, when not with Jacob, put up 480 yards of fence. Yesterday the only fair day in 10 and raining tonight.

We have all the pigs (save 3) up in the sty weaning them and keeping off cotton seed (47 up), making 50 in all of 6 weeks and upwards; 2 other gilts now have pigs.

Jerome getting 4-foot boards to cover cistern; Ned and Cyrus resetting gates, having moved fence so as to enter cornfield. Peyton and Edward yesterday in new ground, also today with the women and chaps.

17. Very cold, snowing frequently through the day. Very heavy rain yesterday; quite warm last night, not even a blanket required. At daylight this morning two blankets were comfortable.

This night 35 years ago I was ushered into this world. How many scenes one passes through in 35 years, but thanks to our Lord many have been pleasant, and though many otherwise, yet very many of the former in comparison to many mortals. At present in fine health, and but for money matters, buoyant as a boy of 18. What will the next 35 bring about? To God alone I leave the solution, and in his leniency, mercy and power I leave, as I found, myself.

20. The weather has been unprecedented so far as my memory extends. Since Sunday there has been a continued falling of rain or sleet, and with the exception of a part of Monday (sunshine) scarcely intermission of night or day. Steady and severely cold; ground frozen even now. No work done this week worth the naming.

Killed yesterday 2 hogs—172, 122—294 pounds.

23. The only fair day and good weather since the New Year. All hands in new ground today; women burning brush, fellows

cutting down the gums, etc., left in the summer. No work in new ground the first three days and not much done on these days; so cold.

30. The first day the sun has risen clear, or (actually) speaking, clear at sunrise since about the first of the month.

All hands worked in new ground on 23d and 24th, 4 hands chopping in it  $\frac{1}{2}$  day yesterday and today. Peyton and Ned split 425 rails on Tuesday and part of Wednesday; timber cut. An average of 5 chaps knocking down stalks 4 days; did but little first day, I being absent. Getting blacksmith work done by Mr. Charles Armstrong. I find buds of the althea springing; hyacinths and jonquils putting forth leaves.

31. Sunday.

#### FEBRUARY, 1841.

3. The women, etc., knocking down stalks; yesterday 3 at it. Amy, Louisa and Maria grubbing in oat field. Jacob hauling logs together in oats field, orchard. All hands today in new ground. On Tuesday Ned and Cyrus at coal kiln. Jerome and Peyton mauled about 525 rails. So there has been until today only 7 days' work of all in new ground this week. Jacob hauled wood on Monday. Weather unsettled; some appearance of rain but none this week.

5. All hands burning brush today; fine weather.

6. Burning brush again today; now about 10 acres burned off. Ned and Cyrus in the garden. Rain at night.

8. The fellows, Amy, Edward and Louisa rolling logs today; have put up 16 heaps. The number of old logs lying in the new ground renders the rolling slow and heavy. Nanny setting fire to heaps. Eliza, Milly, Jane, Maria and Jack grubbing and cutting down sprouts in new ground corn of last year. Rain yesterday; cloudy today, but no rain.

9. Fellows, Amy and Louisa in clearing, cutting down and cutting up. Ned after fruit trees and in the garden; Cyrus also  $\frac{1}{2}$  day; the other hands as yesterday. Flora a heifer calf, reddish and white, marked like her except color. Cold and cloudy. Set out day in garden, pinks, crape myrtle, sweet william, cape jasmine.

10. Five fellows, Edward and 2 women rolling logs. Rolled millet patch, orchard, oats and about 30 acres in cotton field, thus going over about 100 acres. Nanny and Maria firing log heaps, balance grubbing sprouts in oats field.

12. Two fellows and Edward chopping. Amy and Louisa burning brush yesterday. Nanny and chaps burning limbs, etc., in oats field yesterday; finished today. Fellows and 2 women rolling in new ground; Nanny firing. Chaps burning brush in corn field. Eliza sick two days; more lazy and mad than sick. Beautiful day. *Very cold last night* and yesterday.

14. Sunday. Yesterday Jacob hauling logs together in field, balance burning brush in new ground; fine day. No spring yet; clear and cold.

15. All hands in clearing until 12 o'clock. Then Cyrus, Ned, Jacob, Amy and Edward started to plow; Jacob plowing patches with oxen in front of house, Amy following in the same furrows, Cyrus plowing with oxen in sweet potato patch, Ned and Edward in the pasture lot around houses. Ground in fine order. Earth frozen early in morning.

18. Jerome and weak hands burning brush. Peyton spading up garden two days, one day planting morus. Finished plowing pasture lot, potato patch, vegetable patches and millet today. Sowed pasture lot with oats today.

19. Jerome, etc., in clearing, as yesterday; Peyton in garden. Planted over  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of guinea grass in millet lot. Commenced plowing in oats field today with three plows; after 12 o'clock the balance of the hands with oxen and wagon hauling cotton seed, leaves and manure, after having finished plowing and brushing in oats. Zachariah A. P. returned today.

20. Jerome, etc., as yesterday. Planted today one barrel of Irish potatoes in 11 rows, 3 feet apart, 72 yards long. Planted horse beans today. Five plows in oats field today until 12 o'clock, then grinding and hauling manure in garden.

23. Five plows in oats field yesterday and today; very good work, about 9 acres each day. The women and children, sprouting in the same, finished today. Jerome cutting up logs in old ground yesterday. The women and Jerome in new ground cutting up logs and the former burning. Peyton there after dinner. Peyton has been in the garden since 18th. Planted yesterday

peas, set out onions, sowed cabbage seed, okra. First peach bloom; quince budding; very visibly, green leaves.

25. Sowed cabbage, onion, leek, asparagus, rhubarb, celery. Plowing in oats field continued, having taken a plow hand to cover oats and one team to depot today. We have not got on as anticipated. Listed sow 8 pigs on 23d. Jerome chopping, women and children burning brush where cut down after burning first time.

26. Same as yesterday, except Jerome, with the women and Peyton, chopping  $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Plowing same. Sowed Early York cabbage, White Silver Skin onions, Dutch Flat turnips.

27. Four plows having finished oats field, commenced orchard (next gin), plowing it for oats, intending to sow it down in oats and peas. Peyton and Jerome in clearing until midday, Peyton having plowed until 10 o'clock while Cyrus was sowing. Gave the boys time to assist Peyton with his house. Cloudy and very smoky, getting dry; blackbirds in quantities in the oats field.

#### MARCH, 1841.

1. Four hands plowing for oats in orchard, next to gin, finished it at dark, thus plowing  $7\frac{1}{2}$  acres in one day and  $\frac{1}{4}$ , averaging  $\frac{1}{2}$  acres each. Ned not done covering in oats field; new ground portion rough. Jerome and women, etc., grubbing, sprouting and cleaning up spring field.

2. Same hands in spring field.

3. Ned finished covering the 40-acre field yesterday about 2:30 o'clock. Four plows the two past days, plowing about 8 acres of the hillsides for oats, and Ned helping today, making 9 days' work, but they worked steady, the hillsides having washed so much that it was very ugly work. Sowed beans today, bunch snaps; cabbage up. Five chaps knocking down cotton stalks two days, the 1st and 3d. Jerome and Peyton chopping in new ground.

4. Eight hands rolling in corn field and below gin, rolled about 35 acres. Women  $\frac{1}{2}$  day knocking down cotton stalks, in afternoon burning chunks, etc., in corn ground.

5. Women, etc., as yesterday, nearly done; finish by 9 o'clock tomorrow. Three plows plowing over millet patch. Ned finished

covering oats by side of gin, in orchard. *Peas planted with oats.* Jacob laying off for cotton.

6. Rolled logs today in big cut; finished, and about 5 acres in burn field. Finished threshing down cotton stalks today at noon. With our old ground we are considerably ahead of last year. Yesterday sowed lettuce, globe artichokes and beets, not having the seeds earlier.

Z. A. P. left this day for Alabama, having started on the 4th, but by the conduct of a friend our arrangements were so critical that he returned. But for Mr. A. Lynch we would be ruined. Thank God we have one friend in him, and one as staunch in Z. A. P. as ever man was.

#### 7. Sunday.

8. Sowed and harrowed in about 6 acres of millet,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in millet lot and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in orchard. Jerome, Peyton, Frank, women and children rolling the logs and piling the limbs that burned down yesterday. Never have I seen so many trees on fire. The fence on back side of burn field on fire in a vast number of places; how many rails destroyed cannot form an idea. Much trouble. Jacob laying off again today. Edward and Amy throwing two furrows in big cut for cotton. Cyrus harrowing ground and sowing millet. Frost this morn and cold all day.

9. Sowed about 8 acres of oats in big cut. Jacob laying off in big cut. Edward and Amy bedding up; Cyrus also after sowing. Jerome, Frank and two chaps rolling, balance cleaning where fire burned. Rain about 5 o'clock. Bought 2 mules, swapped pony.

10. So wet not much doing. Peyton and Edward after cows given to Mrs. P. by her father; got one. Cyrus and Jack gone for mules; Jacob after castings. Ned sick, pain and dysentery; a dose of oil. Frank sick, strain lifting; rest. Two women sorting potatoes. Jerome and other chaps righting up fence from blacksmith shop round to big gate and from gin to the same along oat field. Bedded out about 6 bushels of sweet potatoes.

11. Jerome and women putting up the fence where it was burned and pulled down on account of the fire. After finishing, women then to cutting up briars and bushes along hollows and hillsides. Jerome and Peyton mauling greater part of the day. Ned, Cyrus and Edward cutting up logs in new ground. Almost cold enough to freeze.

12. Snow, cold and high wind; occasional spits of snow. Eight hands rolling logs in new ground, 2 firing, balance shrubbing.

13. Did not finish covering oats 'til today. Started 7 plows today. Jacob and Ned (after finishing oats) laying off; Cyrus, Peyton, Edward, Amy and Louisa throwing two furrows each; now about 30 acres in that condition. Jerome cutting up logs where burnt down. Nancy, etc., trimming out hollows and cleaning up briars, etc., in big cut. A beautiful and very pleasant day. Frost this morning, *morus mutticaulus* nipped.

14. Sunday.

15. Seven plows running all day and eight the after part in big cut, and would have finished had we not plowed hillsides in part of burn field, good. Jerome in forenoon cutting up logs that were burnt down, in afternoon with the women cleaning out fence row in burn field and hillocks, where briars, etc., had grown up. The women have now cleaned up big cut, the side of hill in burn field and fence. Only 4 lambs as yet and 2 (more) dead. *One ewe died today.*

16. Having finished throwing three furrows in big cut, commenced at noon planting corn in field below gin house, Ned and Jacob opening and four plows covering. We cover with turning plow.

17. Received this day a pair of pigs from Baltimore; small and very bad condition. Also received a straw cutter and a shelling machine; both excellent. Planted corn today; 1 laying off, 3 covering; 2 plows bedding up for corn in the last year's new ground and adjoining, about 17 acres planted. Eliza and Nancy dropping, 3 chaps scattering cotton seed.

18. Planting corn with 5 plows since dinner, about 6 acres; Edward throwing up in the flat of corn field. Cyrus do. adjoining. Amy and Louisa breaking baulks in corn in the morning. Four hands this morning rolling where fire burnt down timber and in burn field. 8 lambs now alive, 3 dead.

19. Planted today one dozen Rohan potatoes. Sowed today one gallon each of timothy grass seed, orchard grass seed, potato oats. Five plows planting corn  $\frac{1}{2}$  day; having finished, then plowed patches above; three in the flat below gin house. Women, when not dropping corn, etc., cleaning up hillsides.

20. Rolling logs in spring field with 6 hands, Mr. Armstrong

kindly making one. Four plows running, three in the corn breaking baulks; Edward as before. Finished rolling in spring field.

21. Sunday.

22. Six plows breaking out baulks and throwing up for corn. Jacob and Ned laying off rows below gin house until near noon. Then sowed  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre in lucerne, also sowed carrots, parsnips, potato squash, bunch squash, cucumbers, watermelons, nutmeg melons, turnips and pindars. Jerome, etc., cleaning up briars, etc., in spring field. Raining at 5 P. M. and until bedtime, moderate; high wind.

23. Five plows in burn field bedding up until noon for cotton; about 12 acres done. After dinner same plows in spring field, bedding up for corn; 2 others as before. Amy snagged. Jerome and others working with manure and at cow house. Nanny sick; same old sick.

24. Two ox plows bedding up preparatory to planting; not much done, slow. Three plows planting west field (west of orchard and house); about 8 acres done. Two plows breaking out baulks in cotton south of west field. Jerome finished at cow house and now cutting up logs that were in brier patch in spring field; 2 girls cleaning out ditch in west field. Nanny and Amy as before.

25. Transplanted 250 cabbage plants this evening; ground in order, watered them; 2 ox plows bedding up; 3 plows planting in west field finished (45 acres about now planted); 3 plows breaking out baulks in corn south of west field. Jerome and chaps finished cleaning up spring field except about spring, afterwards grubbing and sprouting in orchard, eastern part. Eliza and Maria with corn planters until late, then in garden. Jerome in there half the day, with Jane and Milly nearly. Guinea grass where planted out some 2 or 3 inches high, and where last year came up for at least 3 feet distant in many places, notwithstanding it was plowed well and all roots taken up we saw.

26. Spot has 11 pigs this morning, farrowed yesterday. Millet coming up. Cloudy and appearance of rain. 2 ox plows as yesterday until noon, then Cyrus to depot for pigs. 5 plows breaking out baulks in west field, and as yesterday finished south of west field, and 2 plows went east of spring field in corn. Jack gone with horse that Z. A. P. borrowed, he having returned.

Jerome chopping in new ground; Jane and Maria grubbing in orchard; Eliza firing in spring field, will not burn. Rain quite light in afternoon, not enough to stop work. Four pigs from Baltimore arrived at depot today; Berkshires and fine, in good condition.

27. Same work as yesterday except Cyrus and Jack not getting from depot 'til 12; then 3 plows stopped for grinding, only 6 plows running in forenoon and 4 in afternoon. Rolling in burn in afternoon with 4 hands. Finished in old ground.

28. Sunday. Sue 5 pigs last night.

29. All hands in new ground; 6 hands rolling logs.

30. Two plows laying off, 4 plows throwing 2 furrows, 2 ox plows bedding up for planting. Jerome and Ned mauling rails; other hands burning, etc., in new ground. We have now about 75 acres with 3 furrows, 30 of which are broken out. Lucerne and potato oats up on 28th, also the grasses. Z. A. P. plowed nearly all day; broken down at dinner. M. W. P. plowed about 3 hours today; headache and chilly; hard work.

31. Weighed in the evening the four Berkshire pigs: Monarch,  $72\frac{1}{2}$  pounds; Queen, 138 pounds; Count,  $89\frac{1}{2}$  pounds; Countess,  $77\frac{1}{2}$  pounds.

31. One plow laying off cotton in orchard; 5 plows breaking out in big cut; ox team and wagon hauling manure from cow house in orchard; Ned mauling; light hands burning in new ground and orchard. Now transplanted over 750 cabbage plants, beans, beets, lettuce, etc., up.

We have now planted and broken out entire about 45 acres of corn, 62 of oats,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  of millet,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Guinea grass,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Lucerne,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in grass seeds, etc. We have now about 40 acres ready for planting cotton; about 35 acres with three furrows together; 5 acres laid off.

Rolled in new ground 4 days, and about 7 days more work. We have rolled old ground, cleaned up bayous, hillsides, etc. All the old ground now only clean; some logs yet in spring field.

APRIL, 1841.

1. 5 plows breaking out in big cut, 1 plow laying off. Finished orchard. Ox team hauling manure in orchard, Jerome and

Cyrus at it; Ned mauling; light hands in new ground; Maria scattering manure.

2. Jacob opening; Maria dropping, and Peyton covering cotton. Being detained by grinding some meal, we did not have a fair chance. Not certain how much done. Ned mauling; women as yesterday. 4 plows breaking out. Now about 50 acres ready for planting. Finished hauling manure. Bees swarmed and saved yesterday. Now about 2,200 cabbage plants set out, and raining, 5 P. M.

3. 2 plows breaking out in hillsides of big cut and burn; 2 openers, 2 coverers and 2 droppers, now about 20 acres planted. 1 ox plow all day and 2 half the day in orchard cotton; Cyrus  $\frac{1}{2}$  day in the shop; Frank's finger sore. Jerome cutting up and putting together chunks about in field before the plow; Eliza in garden. Cloudy and occasional light sprinkles for a day or two, but at this time raining so as to drive hands in from field. Corn coming up for several days, yellow and feeble looking. 22 lambs alive on Wednesday, 3 dead and 1 given to Rebecca Gibbes.

4. Sunday. 31 lambs, 27 here alive, 1 to Rebecca Gibbes (wife's niece), three dead. Rain, rain.

5. Eight hands rolling, Z. A. P. and Mr. Armstrong making two until 12 o'clock; 4 light gang following after, putting up small logs, etc.; Nanny, Eliza and Milly burning brush, etc. Beautiful day after so much rain.

6. Two sets planting cotton, now planted somewhat over 45 acres; 2 plows breaking out, Z. A. P. being one of the plowmen; Nanny firing log heaps; Eliza in garden most of the day. Now over 2,600 plants out. Set out a few tomato plants. Every appearance of rain. Louisa sick, pain in abdomen, rest all day, senna at night.

7. So much rain last night that we were unable to work a good portion of the day. Cleaned out stables and hauled part in the garden. In afternoon fellows and 4 girls rolling logs. Now about 3,700 cabbage plants.

8. One plow opening for cotton; one dropper not covering, being rather wet; 6 plows breaking out baulks in burn field; 2 plows in orchard throwing 2 furrows; Jerome cutting up logs in new ground; Nanny, Eliza and Jane firing log heaps. Louisa sick, has taken 2 doses of senna.

9. One plow opening all day and 1 more  $\frac{1}{2}$  day; 2 droppers and 2 covering; 2 ox plows throwing up and 2 breaking out. Finished burn. Now over 65 acres of cotton planted. Breaking out for cotton in orchard. Jerome cutting up in new ground. Eliza and Nanny cleaning up. Cotton coming up.

10. One hand opening, one covering, 2 dropping. Have now planted nearly 80 acres. 2 plows breaking out middle, not done yesterday, as I thought, nor yet. 2 ox plows and Amy and Louisa breaking out in orchard. Spring field overflowed with backwater for several days.

11. Sunday. This day 29 living lambs, 4 dead and 1 given away, in all 34. Cloudy, mist falling.

12. Finished planting cotton today. Jacob hauling rails around new ground; Eliza, Nanny and Milly cleaning up; Jerome chopping.

13. Speyed today 22 pigs. Commenced working corn today, having plowed some in lot, pushed up logs, and worked Irish potatoes. Done about 7 acres, 12 out part of the day. Louisa sick, pain in side, senna; Milly sick, pains everywhere, tartar.

14. Sick as yesterday. 12 hands worked over about 10 acres today. Speyed today 1 cow now giving milk with her first calf, trying whether she will continue in milk after weaning calf; also speyed 1 calf and  $\frac{1}{2}$  speyed another.

15. All hands at corn today except Louisa, and she "sore all over;" have done about 9 acres today.

16. Eight hands working corn above spring field; have done today about 6 acres. 4 plows and 2 hands planting over the new ground part of w. field.

17. The hoe hands finished working over corn today about 11 o'clock; plow hands finished planting in w. field about 10 o'clock; only 3 plows this morning. Commenced scraping today about 11 o'clock, having only one hand running round until after dinner and that hand much delayed, owing to our first trying the cotton scraper, so we have not done much at scraping. The cotton scraper only does tolerably. Not yet well set on the stock.

18. Sunday. Rain and very strong gale last night. 31 lambs alive, 4 dead and 1 to Rebecca.

19. Sold today \$130 worth of stock to Thos. Fitzhugh. 10 big

and little scraping, 2 running around with scrapers; 2 plows throwing earth to corn, finely.

20. Too much rain last night to plow or scrape today. 2 fellows cutting up logs in field where blown down on Saturday night. Ned sowed this morning near the barn millet and grass seeds; Eliza and Peyton in the garden filling up places with cabbage plants where eaten by rabbits and setting out tomatoes and preparing for beans, etc. Sowed two rows of butterbeans this evening 80 feet each. Balance of hands thinning out corn; thinned out 25 acres (about) with 8 hands.

21. Ten hands scraping; that is, 10 negroes did about 7 acres, having scraped Lucerne before going out. Jacob running round. 4 plows in corn, Mr. Armstrong kindly offering his services.

22. Same work today as yesterday, about 8 acres today. Milly in the house.

23. Same work as yesterday, about 8 acres today. Milly ironing.

24. Same work as yesterday, except Jacob over half day in corn. Hoe hands in cotton until 11 o'clock. After 11, hoe hands worked over the patches.

25. Sunday. 32 lambs alive, 4 dead and 1 to Rebecca.

26. Hoe hands worked out guinea grass, then cut out fence row through the swamp. 4 plows having finished hillsides, then in new ground corn.

27. Shearing today and yesterday. Sheared 47 ewes, 3 wethers, 5 rams (10 ewe lambs and 13 wether lambs not sheared). Many of the sheep having shed nearly all their wool, we have only about 100 pounds. 5 plows in new ground corn, *finished it*. Jerome and 3 chaps putting fence in clearing, chopping fence row. Planted today 1½ barrels of potatoes, ½ barrel to plant.

28. Jerome and 6 women scraping hillsides of burn and big cut; Ned running round. 4 plows breaking up spring field for corn, finished east of ditch.

29. Absent myself this day to Vicksburg. Commenced planting corn in spring field; 5 plows in field; Jerome and women scraping.

MAY, 1841.

1. Weighed Berkshires this day, and weighed as follows: Monarch, 95 pounds; gain in 30 days, 22½ pounds; Queen, 178½

pounds; gain in 30 days,  $40\frac{1}{2}$  pounds. Count, 130 pounds; gain in 30 days,  $40\frac{1}{2}$  pounds. Countess, 114 pounds; gain in 30 days,  $36\frac{1}{2}$  pounds.

Finished planting spring field in corn and pumpkins. Plowed well, but much of it not well covered. Jerome and women scraping in burn field, now scraped about 62 acres. Corn looks very fine, generally in good order. Cotton does not grow off. *Rain now needed.*

2. Sunday.

3. Two plows moulding cotton, 2 scraping and balance with the hoe. Jacob ran round with plow all the patches of vegetables. Finished scraping burn field at 6 o'clock, now in big cut between corn and oats. *Very dry.*

4. Two plows moulding, now in burn field, 2 scraping. Hoe hands having finished big cut, now in orchard. Some appearance of rain.

5. Three plows moulding. Jacob finished with scraper; Jerome and others nearly done scraping; plowed guinea grass today. Spot's pigs marked with a small piece off of right ear (7 pigs), Sue's with a slit in upper part of right ear (4 pigs), Polly's in under part of right ear (3 pigs). 3 double shovels nearly done moulding, now between corn and oats, 2 hours' work; Jerome and other hoe hands now working out corn in new ground, part of w. field. Planted  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of popcorn, 3 feet between rows, *as an experiment.* Now raining good fashion; showers today (8 P. M.).

8. Heavy rain on the night of the 5th, a little yesterday morning and today until 10 o'clock all the time. Much less would have done. Jerome and his gang thinned out the balance of corn, not done before; after that hoeing in new part of w. field. 4 plows were yesterday from about 10 o'clock until night breaking up the portion of clearing that is cleaned up. Turned sows and shoats in oat field today. After the rain today women putting up fence around clearing, deadening and splitting old logs.

9. Sunday. Raining. Weighed the two white pigs today. Byron, 50 pounds; Josephine, 42 pounds.

10. Green peas today. Women, etc., clearing up, 3 fellows deadening; Jerome and Peyton putting up fence where burnt back of burn some time since, until noon, 3 fellows rolling chunks, etc., in clearing. Women after dinner commenced scraping the

second time, it being rather wet and heavy to dirt cotton with hoes.

11. All hands at the hoe today and, except two, in cotton; Eliza and Nanny cleaning out the corn planted in hollows and fence corners.

12. Four plows running around corn with Carey plows; have done about 20 acres. Balance of hands scraping cotton.

13. Hoe hands as yesterday. Finished plowing around corn today.

14. Hoe hands in cotton between oat field and oat patch. One double plow in big cut moulding. Jacob, with scooter, in orchard.

15. Two double plows running around cotton moulding. Jacob finished the orchard piece. Hoe hands dirting orchard piece. Too cold for health or cotton; thermometer 48 degrees at 5 A. M.

16. Sunday.

17. Absent to Raymond attending sale of negroes, not being able to pay for Log Hall and negroes sold in August. The money was compelled to be paid this day, as Mr. A. Lynch had borrowed it, so I took up Charity and Maria, sold for \$570 (I think) and Louisa and Liz bid off (not sold) for \$575. Bad business, but better thus than a friend injured.

Hoe hands finished orchard cut, then the corn in w. field where too wet; two plows in cotton.

18. Same work with plows. Hoe hands having finished beyond oat patch to burn field and rows around the hillsides about 11 o'clock, went into the corn above spring field, it being badly thinned, now clearing well.

19. Hoe hands finished hillsides above spring at 10 o'clock, then into piece adjoining spring field, only 7 at hoe in forenoon, 6 in afternoon. 2 plows in burn field.

20. Continuation of same work; 3 plows today.

21. Queen, 7 pigs, 1 very small. The plows finished burn field at 10:30 o'clock A. M.; now 2 gone to w. field. Hoe hands finished corn in old part of w. field. 2 plows now in new part of w. field.

22. Sold to Mr. Wells a pair of Berkshires not deliverable yet. 2 plows having run around corn in w. field, commenced to break out the middles. Hoe hands in spring field corn, a bad stand.

23. Sunday. When in Raymond, on the 17th, I measured the imported Berkshire boar, Prince Albert, belonging to Maj. J. B. Peyton, and measured as follows: From shoulder blade to root of tail, 2 feet 10 inches; from ear to ear, 3 feet 8½ inches; length from end of nose, 5 feet ½ inch; girt behind shoulders, 3 feet 9½ inches (19 months old).

24. Measured Count this day, about 8 months and 10 days old: Girt behind shoulders, 3 feet 2½ inches; length from ears, 3 feet 4¼ inches; length from nose, 4 feet 4¼ inches. Peyton ran round the corn in spring field where corn enough for any use and then went to w. field. 3 plows in w. field besides Peyton, who went about 5:30. Hoe hands nearly done where any stand in w. field.

25. Hoe hands finished about 9 o'clock, then went into cotton between oats and corn. The plows finished w. field corn. Irish potatoes today. Rain at 4 o'clock.

26. Rain this morning; a very fine season. Planted out sweet potato drawings, 2½ rows. Worked out popcorn. After dinner all hands but Ned in cotton; Ned breaking up the part left for sweet potatoes.

27. All hands in cotton except Ned; finished hillsides between oats and corn about 9 o'clock; then went to hillsides of burn, finished them about dark. Ned plowing cotton in orchard. Oats heading out generally in the field, but not so much in the patches.

28. Two plows nearly done orchard piece. Hoe hands in burn field.

29. Plows did not finish until late, then in the patches. Hoe hands as above. Rain at 2.

JUNE, 1841.

1. Hoe hands finished burn field, then into the new portion of w. field. Three plows running round and breaking out middles in big cut. Planted today about 3 acres of corn in orchard piece. Jacob planter now breaking up where timothy was sown; too much crab grass.

2. Two plows all day in corn by gin house, two more after noon. Hoe hands finished w. field corn at dinner. 3 plows in

cotton until noon, only 1 after. Hoe hands in orchard cotton after dinner. Corn tassels in sight three days.

4. Hoe hands not yet done orchard cotton, but will be by breakfast. Plows now all in cotton. Peyton breaking out with Carey in orchard, it having got so grassy that double plows would not answer. 4 plows in cotton in corner of burn field and in the burn field. Finished plowing old corn today at noon for the last.

Wrote to Mr. Moss today proposing to sell 2 Durhams at \$260, Dick, Polly and Lady at \$200, 2 pair black Berkshires at \$100, deliverable in the fall; 200 pounds of wool (100 pounds now and 100 pounds in the fall) at \$80, total \$640, and out of this Mr. John Martin to pay himself (he being the owner of Moss property) and pay us half now and balance in the fall.

5. Hoe hands in big cut doing the prettiest kind of work; 3 plows in burn field; 2 in orchard part of day; Edward with harrow in cotton between corn and oats.

6. M. W. P. and family left for Octibbeha County this evening, being Sunday.

7 and 8. Jacob, Ned and Cyrus in burn field dirting and plowing out clean. In the evening Jacob and Ned came to big cut, where they left off plowing on the 5th. Peyton and Edward finished orchard piece by night; did pretty work. As Ned and Jacob returned from dinner had the popcorn plowed. Hoe hands in big cut, cotton very foul with crab grass, leaving their ground in splendid order.

9 and 10. All hands in big cut, 3 plows breaking out and dirting, the foulest piece of cotton *I ever saw*. Hoe hands have been pushed very hard, true as steel, get on very slow, but if M. W. P. was here he would say plenty fast and leaving the ground as should be left.

On 9th thermometer at 1 o'clock 94½ degrees. Mr. Wm. Thomas was here to supper on 9th, carried the horse and one mule home, send the other tomorrow.

11 and 12. Plows went into spring field about 11 o'clock on the 11th; plowing tolerably well done. Will finish on Monday early. Rain nearly all the evening; not enough to do much good. Hoe hands in big cut yet, heavy work; such a tremendous coat of crab grass and pusley. Saw the first cotton bloom on red hill burn field.

14 and 15. Hoe hands finished big cut by dinner on 14th. Commenced between corn and oats hill side, finished by 4 o'clock on 15th and went to spring field corn. Cyrus, Ned and Jacob commenced laying by new ground corn on 14th after dinner; took Jacob away on 15th, at breakfast time, to plant peas; covering peas with cultivator. Peyton commenced running around cotton with Carey, throwing tolerably high bed. Messrs. McMillan came here to make running gear for gin on 14th.

16 and 17. Hoe hands finished spring field corn in the evening and then into burn field cotton. Cyrus and Ned finished new ground corn and then to oat field. Jacob went to Amsterdam,<sup>20</sup> hauled up timbers for gin gear. Peyton and Edward in big cut cotton.

18. Hoe hands in burn field; Peyton and Edward planting peas; Cyrus and Ned cutting oats in big oat field.

19. All hands stopped work at 12 and went to oat field, tieing and hauling. Cyrus, Ned and Jacob nearly finished the house, cut oats. Peyton finished planting peas.

21. Hoe hands in burn field, tied and hauled balance of oats out of oat field; Cyrus and Ned finished cutting oats in house cut. Jacob running round dirting big cut cotton; Cyrus breaking out baulks; Peyton using cultivator in young corn by the house and Ned shrubbing spring field so as to replant.

22. Hoe hands in burn field and tieing oats in house cut. Ned with Edward sprouting and cleaning up spring field. Cyrus, Jacob and Peyton in big cut cotton with plows.

23. Hands as day before (lost time by rain), oats 2 o'clock.

24. As day before. Edward sunning oats. Jacob and Edward hauling. M. W. P. came home this evening, bringing a mule, mare and colt. Hoe hands finished burn field and commenced house cut cotton. Jacob and Cyrus cut cotton field oats, finished hour by sun, good day's work. Peyton finished hillside cotton and went to burn field; Ned breaking out in big cut; Nanny out; Amy and Jack laid up.

26. Hoe hands as well as plow boys left off their work about

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<sup>20</sup>An extinct town in Hinds county two miles from Edwards, Miss. It was at one time a port of entry. See Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages in Mississippi" in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. V, pp. 336-337.

11 o'clock to tie and stack cotton field oats, making two sorter stacks, cut for seed.

27. Sunday.

28. Hoe hands finished house cut cotton in the evening and cleaned truck patches,. Plows in big cut breaking out, running round in burn field; Jerome sick.

29. Hoe hands chopping out new ground corn, plows in burn field. Jerome, Milly and Jack sick.

30. Hoe hands worked in new ground in the morning a while; rained; planted sweet potatoes with all hands; went into new ground again in the evening. Plows in burn field and cotton between corn and oats.

JULY, 1841.

1. Hoe hands finished corn before breakfast, and then into big cut cotton, not much to do; Cyrus in the garden; Jacob and Peyton finished big cut hillsides; Edward and Ned in burn field. Cut guinea grass yesterday.

2. Plow hands finished dirting and breaking out clean the whole cotton field this evening. Hoes in big cut between oats and oat field.

3. Holiday for all hands, as the Fourth comes on Sunday. Killed estray steer,<sup>21</sup> marked crop off left ear, crop, overbit and hole right ear, weight 534 pounds.

4. Messrs. McMillans left here this day, having completed their job in fourteen days, giving them notes for the money, making one note of \$42 and one of \$28, to be paid in the fall.

5. All hands in spring field hoeing and plowing corn; broke over again an acre or about, so as to replant.

6. M. W. P. left this day for Starkville. All hands finished spring field by dinner. Plows to new ground and hoes to cotton field. Jack and Moses sick, and myself.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Cattle frequently escaped from their owners into the dense cane brakes near Log Hall plantation. "Wild cattle" were hunted and killed like other game. See also entry under the date November 27, 1841, *infra*.

<sup>22</sup>This part of the diary is not in the handwriting of Dr. Philips. There is nothing to indicate who kept the record in the absence of the proprietor.

7. Plows and hoes as the evening before. Three sick with myself.

19. First rain in some time.

21. I was taken on the night of 7th with congestive chill, have been confined to my bed since, not yet able to walk about. Since 7th have had but little sickness. Have planted part of new ground about 8th or 9th, cut millet. Worked over the whole cotton field, young corn, potatoes. Milly and Amy been lying up since Monday. Started to break up or rather turn over the millet patch; ground so dry and hard had to stop. Commenced pulling fodder this morning. Cotton opening and shedding forms tremendously; so says Jerome.

22. Countess has five pigs. Hands as day before, Cyrus and Milly sick.

24. Hands still in gin cut, pulling fodder and stacking. Corn much better than I expected to see. Fodder burnt up to the ear. Cyrus sick, fever; all the rest well.

26. All hands yet in fodder; get on so slow that a flogging apiece would benefit them. Tremendous storm of wind and rain. New ground corn blown flat and lots of trees down. Small corn literally covered up by trees and limbs. Set out potatoes. Count died this day. Found him just before he died, forehead split with a small hole in the skull.

28. One of Countess' pigs dead; something strange about her pigs, all pigged lame. Hands still in fodder. All well.

29. Finished pulling fodder in old ground this morning, turning out seven large double stacks and hauled a big load in the old corn house. Corn better than I expected in big cut. Got home yesterday the spinning machine from P. McIntyre. Hands went to cleaning up in new ground and hoeing young corn.

30. M. W. P. came home this evening.

31. Hands yesterday and today in new ground chopping and working young corn; Jacob and Edward plowed out corn in front of house and in house cut. Cotton healthy.

AUGUST, 1841.

1. Sunday.

4. Finished young corn on 2d. Since then rolling logs around the fence, burning brush in lots and firing old logs. Peyton and

Edward in cotton with cultivators. All well. A. K. M., some sickness, and Mr. Selser's family very sick; lots of cases of bilious fever.

8. The latter part of the week all hands in new ground rolling logs and burning brush, cleaning up for turnip patch. Nanny sick; Jerome laid up on Saturday. Weighed Monarch this day to feed against A. K. M. boar for one month. Ned weighed 138, age 9 months 13 days; Monarch weighed 140, age 9 months 17 days.

11. Rain Monday, Tuesday and today; hands plowing up new ground for turnips; Jerome hauling up timber for hog house; women and chaps in garden and yard; Amy laid up.

12. We weighed the Berkshires today: Queen, 143½; Countess, 151; Josephine, 96½; Little Mysie, 35 (3 mo. on the 21st inst.).

15. Weighed today Byron, 88½.

22. We also weighed Monarch and find he now weighs 141½ lbs., showing a clear gain since today week of one pound; weighed Byron also, no gain. Turned in from the woods 48 head (sheep), suppose some are already with lamb, as a ram of Selser's has been running with them. Commenced picking cotton on Saturday with 4 chaps after 10 o'clock, not much done, nor yesterday either. Bad plan to have two jobs with same set of hands unless master is along, for they will idle, but I feared sickness and thought best not to put in the cotton field until after breakfast.

29. Weighed Monarch this day, 147½ lbs., gain 6 lbs; weighed Byron this day, 97 lbs., gain 8½ lbs. Here we find an evident change, and attributable solely I think to change in feeding, from a large open lot to a close house; these pigs were turned into the house on the 25th and, reasonable to suppose, they had not improved from the 22d, as they had not for 2 weeks previous; thus, if so, showing an improvement say for Thursday, Friday and Saturday of 6 lbs. the one and 8½ the other.

The past week was as wet a one as was ever seen in August. The rain commenced on Monday night and rained Tuesday and Wednesday; the creek out of its banks; field very much washed; no picking except Monday and Saturday. Jerome sick Satur-

day (28th) from working in the water in swamp putting up fence.

## SEPTEMBER, 1841.

5. Monarch weighed  $151\frac{1}{2}$ , gain 4 lbs.; Byron weighed  $100\frac{1}{2}$ , gain  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.; Queen weighed,  $163\frac{1}{2}$ , gain 20 lbs. since 12th August, 23 days; Countess weighed 151, no gain, suckling; Josephine weighed 111, gain  $14\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. since 12th Aug., 23 days; Little Mysie weighed 51, gain 16 lbs. since 12th Aug., 23 days; Tom Todger weighed  $18\frac{45}{2}$  days old.

6. Louisa sick (chill with fever following); calomel, 20 grs., ipecac 2 grs., opium  $\frac{1}{2}$  gr.

7. Louisa sick (fever still), tongue heavily furred, oil.

15. Pressed 9 bales—No. 1, 464 pounds; No. 2, 463 pounds; No. 3, 468 pounds; No. 4, 482 pounds; No. 5, 470 pounds; No. 6, 467 pounds; No. 7, 466 pounds; No. 8, 478 pounds; No. 9, 469 pounds.

16. Amy gave birth of a girl child about 12 o'clock last night. Though not still born, yet it did not survive its birth.

25. All hands hauling corn this week, except 2 days, and rain; hauled out of 2d year's land  $8\frac{1}{2}$  loads, not done (12 acres); cut by gin house, 26 loads ( $22\frac{1}{2}$  acres).

29. Finished corn today; hauled out of 8-acre cut  $8\frac{1}{2}$  loads (8 acres); spring field 4 loads; balance of 2d 2 loads; total, 49 loads, about 1,250 bushels.

## OCTOBER, 1841.

7. I know not that a more fit place or time than here to record the attempt or rather the exertion to improvement of myself in agricultural knowledge, introduction of stock and thus improving Mississippi agriculture. For the improvement of integrants will necessarily be even a little towards leavening the whole lump. I covet not notoriety, I wish not to detract from others; nor do I wish others to bear a palm of merit when not meritorious. These remarks are elicited by a remark made in the *Albany Cultivator*, that Mr. J. Eliot, now President of the Union Bank, is "the leader of the improvements now going on in Mississippi." I am not the leader; for I possess not the knowledge, skill or means,

but that I have thrown my mite to the measure the following memoranda will show:

I subscribed in 1831 (I think) for the *Southron Agriculturist*; in '32 for the *American Farmer*; in '33 for the *New York Farmer*; in 1835 bought the full set of the *American Farmer*, wrote essays on farming about this time. I continued subscription to some one or more until I sold out in '36. Then I was employed in other pursuits until the fall of '37.

In 1833 early, I brought to Hinds (County) a pair of Guinea hogs, so-called, having previous to this procured in the county a Calcutta boar. In Jany., '35, I brought here a pair of pigs, grandsire and dam, imported into Pennsylvania. In July, '38, I brought two pair of pigs from Ohio, breed not known, but good. In May, '39, I ordered from Cincinnati 2 pair of best breed, not limited in price, and received in July 2 pair of improved Byfields from Mr. C. S. Clarkson. In Dec., '40, ordered pigs to amt. of 6 bales of cotton from Baltimore, Mr. J. S. Skinner sent 3 pair. Two pair of improved Berkshires, 1 white Berkshire sow and one wolrun boar. Since which other orders have been sent, but none yet received; now arranging for further orders.

In March of '36 I bought a bull and young cow in calf through Mr. J. J. Hitchcock, of Philadelphia. Received them the following winter. In June or July of 1839 I engaged some Durham stock in Kentucky, which were received in Feby., 1840.

In the summer of '36 prevailed on Mr. Charles Gibbs to purchase improved cattle from the Shakers in Kentucky; Mr. John F. Watson's fine bull Jerry and cow are two of them.

In 1833 I sowed Timothy, but the false credit I received induced me to go into planting instead of farming. The timothy did well. In 1834 I brought Gama grass to Mississippi, then unknown here. In 1837 we had fine clover, and in '38, in June, it was really fine. In 1834, I received a lot of fruit trees—pear, apple, peach, plum, cherry, apricot; in my absence and big planting, all neglected.

Besides other matters of a less import, as seeds, a different mode of cultivation than pursued then, but now somewhat adopted.

In July, 1839, I brought here a thoroughbred buck, Bakewell

sheep, Rob Roy; also at same time 10 half bloods, and Bakewell thoroughbred Southdown ewe.

10. Lizzy a heifer calf. Spot farrowed 11 pigs yesterday, one dead.

13. Pressed 8 bales yesterday, weighing and marked M. P.—No. 1, 482 pounds; No. 2, 456 pounds; No. 3, 487 pounds; No. 4, 489 pounds; No. 5, 491 pounds; No. 6, 441 pounds; No. 7, 465 pounds; No. 8, 493 pounds.

Sent to Robert Wells this day Monarch, price \$34; also 4 of the Dudley plows and 3 of the double shovels to lay and sharpen by blacksmith.

20. Gathering peas yesterday and today. Cut young corn today and yesterday.

21. Sowed 1½ bushels of rye on one acre yesterday; sowed negro house pasture lot on Wednesday, 20th.

31. Weighed the Berkshires this day: Queen weighed 242 lbs., gained 7½ lbs. in 56 days; Countess (Countess suckling until 13th October) weighed 204 lbs., gained 53 lbs. in 56 days; Little Mysie weighed 86 lbs., gained 35 lbs. in 56 days. Mr. A. W. Bentley, of Louisville, Ky., Z. A. Philips, present.

#### NOVEMBER, 1841.

1. Weighed tonight 5 bales: 9, 435 pounds; 10, 458 pounds; 11, 433 pounds; 12, 430 pounds.

13. Mary left for school (at Louisville).

20. Received this evening by railroad from Vicksburg a number of Berkshire pigs brought down from Ohio and Kentucky by Mr. Affleck.

24. Disagreeably warm for the last few days; rained two or three days ago and again this morning. Hands picking cotton slowly. Nanny sick for a week past. Mr. Marcy has been here a week and better, working on mill. M. W. P. absent a good deal for the last two weeks, left this morning for the Washington (Miss.) fair, via Natchez.

26. Killed heifer today, corned 223 lbs.

27. Killed a wild bull and heifer this morning. I suppose would weigh 200 lbs. each. Sent Cyrus to Vicksburg after cattle; very cold and disagreeable.

28. Cyrus returned this evening with 6 head of Durhams, 3 bulls and 3 heifers. Very cold.

29. Penned twenty-six head of hogs to fatten for bacon. Cold.

DECEMBER, 1841.

11. Eliza gave birth to a girl child on the morning of the 11th of December. The smallest Devon cow calved a heifer calf, all red. Weighed and sent to Ruff & Newman on 3d No. 1, 433 pounds; No. 2, 424 pounds; No. 3, 436 pounds; No. 4, 489 pounds.

16. Killed this day nine hogs, not fat, weighed gross 1,837 lbs., net 1,360 lbs.; loss by cleaning 204 lbs., or an average of 1-9th.

18. Weighed this day the following pigs: Gipsey, 297 lbs.; Ohio Lass, 207 lbs.; Fair Starr, 121 lbs.; Little Mysie, 127 lbs. (gained 41 lbs. in 58 days); The Dark-eyed One, 94 lbs.; Rory O'Moore, 88 lbs.; Tam O'Shanta, 136 lbs.

24. Weighed and sent off this day 5 bales S.: No. 1, 404 pounds; No. 2, 409 pounds; No. 3, 402 pounds; No. 4, 488 pounds; No. 5, 396 pounds; total, 2,099 pounds.

29. Weighed and sent off this day and 30th 7 bales, S.: No. 6, 435 pounds; No. 7, 422 pounds; No. 8, 440 pounds; No. 9, 424 pounds; No. 10, 418 pounds; No. 11, 413 pounds; No. 12, 316 pounds; total, 2,868 pounds.

31. We now close the year, and in referring back to the crop year we must pronounce the portion for cultivation as more unpropitious than I ever knew; many farmers not making exceeding 500 lbs. to the acre. Whereas we gathered 66,000 lbs., or about 695 lbs. per acre, or about 47 bales (less than estimate 28 bales), a prodigious falling off, but we have done as well as any of our neighbors except A. K. M. In corn we are also short, though we did not plant the new ground as we anticipated, and one-half of spring field was lost by freshet. We calculate to have had in corn not over 50 acres, and to have gathered about 14 to 1,500 bushels. The storm in July injured badly the 2d year's corn in W. field. We have oats and fodder enough, with millet and stalk fodder. But millet as a crop and potatoes an entire failure. On the whole we have not made half the crop we called for.

JANUARY, 1842.

In making our estimates the preceding year it seems from the close of the year that we calculated too largely, but taking all together we have done fairly. The season was the worst for everything I ever saw.

Our present crop will consist of east field about 38 acres (in cotton); west field, about 50 acres (in cotton); total, 88 acres in cotton; middle cut, 59 acres (in corn); burn field, 25 acres (in corn); spring field, 12 acres (in corn); south of gin, 4 acres (in corn); total, 100 acres in corn; south of gin, 5 acres (in potatoes and pinders); orchard, 25 acres (in oats, wheat, millet, etc.); millet patch, 5 acres; spring lot, 7 acres; corn patch above burn, 9 acres; oat patch above burn, 9 acres; total 55 acres; and trust to make 70 bales (only working scarcely 10 hands) and 2,000 bushels of corn, and millet, fodder, etc., in abundance.<sup>23</sup>

8. The past week has been on the whole a fair one for work, warm for January. We have cut up and rolled logs in boar lot and east portion of orchard, plowed both. Cut up and rolled logs in east field (oats field) and fired a portion, cutting logs in west field.

9. Cloudy and rainy; thermometer at 68° about 9 o'clock.

15. The past week better than I have seen for Jany., rain on Monday only. We have been plowing in east field part of Friday and Saturday with 3 2-horse plows and one single—fine work. Finished grubbing and firing.

17. Sowed oats and wheat (mixed) in the boar lot, plowed in with shovels, in the afternoon laying off for planting trees, hauling

<sup>23</sup>The following statements appear on another part of the page containing this entry:

"March 10. Having had to dispose of one full hand, we changed our crop somewhat. We will still plant the 88 in cotton, about 80 in corn.

"May. Did not get all of W. field cleared up, thus 75 acres about in cotton.

"January, 1843. I find in E. field there is at least 3 1-2 acres not cleared, so there is not more than 37 of it in cultivation, and in W. field not over the same. Then about 74 acres in cotton.

"Yield 91,000 pounds of seed cotton and 70 bales. Corn crop housed last of September, full 2,200 bushels having used for hogs, and horses when not at work since in roasting ear. We hauled up 63 loads, averaging 40 bushels or about, as the wagon body measures over 50 bushels.

ing manure in flower garden, and raking up manure in cow lot and cleaned out cow stable. A beautiful day; multicaulus budding.

FEBRUARY, 1842.

15. Have sown this day  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel of *potato oats* on  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre in orchard.

I prepared this day (for Affleck) 7 joints of cane and filled nearly with earth as follows: No. 1.7, the surface soil; No. 1.2, sub-soil, yellow, say, 6 to 10 inches below the first cut of field (big cut near front big gate); No. 2.1, top soil; No. 2.2, sub-soil as above, in the white wet spot near E. field in this same field above; No. 3.1, top soil; No. 3.2, sub-soil in rich land north of our improvements. The other, marked *Cistern*, was about 6 feet below surface.

This big cut has been in cultivation about 9 years, with 8 consecutive cotton crops taken off; growth on it principally the oaks, white and red, hickory, dogwood, sassafras, small evergreens, as holly and laurel, beech, shumack, ash.

21. Sowed and plowed in about 10 acres in oats above burn spring in big cut today, breaking up where oats was on hill sides. Sowed cabbage, parsnips, radish, lettuce, tomato. Beautiful day.

23. Planted this day  $4\frac{1}{2}$  barrels of Irish potatoes, making the account against them as follows:

Cost of 4 barrels and freight .....	\$ 7 50
Hauling manure, 1 day, 2 hands .....	4 00
Spreading manure $\frac{1}{2}$ day, 3 hands, 75c each.....	2 25
Breaking up and planting, 1 horse and hand, $1\frac{1}{2}$ .....	1 50
Cutting up, etc .....	50
Dropping, not quite a day, say.....	75
	_____
	\$16 50

26. Plowed and harrowed in the ground where oats were in big cut; also planted 10 acres of oats in the corner near E. field. Plowed today about 3 acres for potatoes; 3 plows at work. Jerome, Cyrus, Edward, Jack and Jane cleaning up in W. field.

28. Bedded out this day 15 bushels of sweet potatoes, measured. Two plows now plowing up a piece for millet above the

spring on hill sides. Jacob laying off, preparatory to bedding up for corn.

MARCH, 1842.

6. We planted corn 3 days last week in big cut, commencing March 2d. A heavy storm on Thursday night, blowing down fence and only a few trees. Bedded out again yesterday 4 bushels more got from Alex M—.

11. Planted about 8 acres of corn in orchard on the 8th and 9th, plows breaking up baulks. Finished about 11 o'clock this morning, then went to planting corn in burn field. A horse from Newman & Ruffen 9th. Flora a heifer calf, nearly white. Sowed beets (sugar), beans, turnips, radishes, and planted small yellow and flint corn in front of house.

12. Emily a fine bull calf today. We finished planting burn field; now about 55 acres planted, over 30 acres all broken out; the burn field not broken up.

19. We were on 14 and 15 employed in cutting up logs blown down by the storm and rolling. Since then breaking out baulks in burn field, and breaking up the piece between gin house and spring field before planting corn; now finished all but what is in pindars. Jerome hauling rails to make fence separating W. field from the field south of it. Milly (out in place of Louisa) and Jane grubbing in W. field. Very uneasy about corn coming up where covered by the turning plow, such heavy rains. Strawberry heifer a calf last week.

26. Planted piece between gin house and burn spring on 22d. All plows flushing in E. field, except Peyton and Jack; those two were harrowing over corn, but no good. Jack went into E. field on Friday and Peyton this day. Commenced laying off on Wednesday afternoon, not bedding up until Thursday, then Cyrus and Edward throwing two furrows, now about 25 acres done, part all broke out. Jerome harrowed over for millet, sowed and harrowed it in, six specks on 4 acres. Cyrus bedded up and we planted watermelons and cantaloupes; also planted squashes, 3 kinds, beans and cucumbers, this evening. Thermometer at 80° nearly all week. Silk worms, a few out on the 24th; more out today, feeding.

APRIL, 1842.

2. Planted corn over on the 28th and 29th in burn field and big cut. All plows in E. field breaking up for cotton, nearly done. Peyton running harrow over beds, Jacob opening, 2 hands sowing seed and Jack covering; 105 rows sowed, nearly 440 yards long, *about 12½ acres*. The corn south of gin coming up finely, and even that planted on 28th now coming up. Sweet potatoes coming up for several days. We have now over 2,000 plants (cabbage) transplanted, having set out some and could have done far more by the 19th March, but for the beds being fresh spaded up and too dry. Garden looks well.

5. Finished planting cotton in E. field about *38 acres in 3 days*.

6. Sowed today and harrowed in about *2½ acres* of millet near willow spring. Planted about 4 acres of corn, joining the above and burn field; also laid off in orchard in front of house *3½ acres*, breaking out, plant 7th. We have planted out one row and enough drawings to plant 2 more tomorrow; and hoed over Irish potatoes; pigs have eaten a good many.

7. We commenced bedding up for cotton in west field yesterday. Having received three young mules, put two in the plow yesterday the other today. Rain for a portion of 2 or 3 last days, quite a storm last night, though plowing today.

10. Planted *3¼ acres* of corn in orchard, right-hand side, yesterday.

14. Absent at Fair of Agricultural Society yesterday and today. Lost my fine Southdown buck, change of food from pasture to oats. Lost premium on Gipsey, not in order to please judges, don't regret.

15. Ohio Lass had 6 pigs last night, brought home 5, all will die.

18. Put out on Saturday drawings in about 1 acre of ground; commenced scraping on the 14th, but little done, and rained so hard Saturday nothing done but potatoes. Rain Saturday, 16th, and Sunday, 17th. Very cold, thermometer  $55^{\circ} 12$  M.; been cold since Thursday, 14th. Five turning plows in W. field breaking out baulks. Jacob running around corn south of gin house and 4 hands working over corn.

24. Finished planting cotton in W. field yesterday, having

planted nearly all of 2d years' and old ground in Petit Gulph seed. Cyrus and Jack plowed corn (10 acres) in orchard field on Thursday and Friday. Now plowing corn in big cut, and hoe hands working, after having finished south of gin house.

25. Although we commenced to scrape on the 14th, yet so little done, say we commenced today. And rained hard again.

28. Planted out 26th, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre more of potatoes, now about  $1\frac{3}{4}$  acres. After having planted potatoes went to scraping again in E. field. Fellows for two days past average their acre, doing 9 rows each, women 2 or 3 acres, or same as fellows. Frost on morning of 27th April, though not seen here, but at Edwards and Jackson.

29. Finished E. field today at 2 o'clock. Jacob running round corn since breakfast with a small shovel. Hoe hands working corn after 4 o'clock, though a bad stand, yet looks well.

30. Hoe hands working corn in big cut, having done today about 20 acres. We have now worked over about 50 acres of corn—10 of it moulded. We have scraped over E. field, and will commence to mould on Monday. Corn full knee high, over 50 acres. Rye turning, being out of milk.

#### MAY, 1842.

3. Commenced plowing over corn in big cut yesterday with 2 plows, 2 plows also running round corn in burn field. Finished at 12 o'clock, after which ran around hill above willow spring, then up in orchard. Hoe hands not quite done burn field. Cocoons on the 1st of May. Very cold; ther. 61° all day; 58° tonight 8 o'clock. Jacob and Jack running round (dirtting) cotton with narrow shovels.

5. Jacob and Jack same as yesterday. Hoe hands finished corn in orchard this forenoon, after which they cleaned out the garden and patches. 2 plows earthing corn in big cut, two also in cut south of gin. Josephine, 7 pigs.

6. 4 plows all day and 1 more in afternoon plowing corn; finished the piece near Frank's house, then returned to gin house. Hoe hands having finished patches and pindars yesterday and today went into E. field to dirt cotton. *Replanted pindar patch with peas.*

11. Cyrus and Jack finished plowing old corn. Jacob, Edward and Peyton commenced breaking up the 10 acres of oats near E. field (so many weeds) on the 9th and finished today by 12, 1 1-3 acres each, and earth very hard. Jerome, etc., finished dirting with hoes E. field this morning, after which scraped down sweet potatoes. Then went to scraping W. field. Countess had a lot of white pigs, stole them, the jade, we killed them all.

13. Shearing sheep this day. Cut a part of the wheat this morning; first rate for the stand. First cucumber, all garden late.

14. Plowed over corn in peach orchard today. Hoe hands in cotton in W. field, not doing much.

17. Planted yesterday and this morning 10 acres of corn where oats were in big cut adjoining E. field. Sowed one bushel of corn in Irish potato patch  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre. Hoe hands still in W. field, 3 plows barring off since 10 o'clock. No rain for two weeks, cotton generally very small, not over 4 or 5 inches the best of it.

18. Finished barring off before 12, then began to plow corn next to Frank's house until 12; then went to young corn in burn field, having finished it, began in big cut. Dry, dry.

20. Five plows half of the day in corn south of gin, grinding this afternoon; 2 plows finishing the corn; Cyrus cutting rye.

21. Finished scraping, hoe hands for an hour or two in pindars. Commenced plowing corn E. field with 5 plows, and plowed till 12 o'clock. In afternoon all hands fishing.

22. Little Mysie 5 pigs today.

23. 5 plows in E. field, doing good work and getting on well. Hoe hands working over pindars today, then in corn south of gin.

24. Finished E. field plowing this day. Jerome finished corn south of gin house.

25. Worked over the young corn in orchard; 3 plows in corn east of oats; after hoe hands had finished young corn then went to W. field; 2 plows running round with small shovels.

27. Queen has this morning only eleven pigs, one of them dead. Jerome and hoe hands in W. field, slow work. Jacob grinding. Jack and Cyrus in corn by Frank's house, nearly done, having finished big cut yesterday and then into that; 2 boys (plow) now in E. field.

28. All hands at the hoe in W. field cotton in the forenoon. In the afternoon in garden and patches; thermometer 90° today before dinner.

30. Rain, a very fine season; the first since 26 April except a shower 2d May. Planted out all the drawings we had, not quite enough. Sold \$80 worth of stock.

31. Jacob finished dirting cotton in W. field. Hoe hands very slow. Plows today in burn field (again) not having finished; plowed up rye patch.

#### JUNE, 1842.

1. Planted the rye patch in corn; plows in spring field; planting peas today, dropping and covering with harrow.

2. Finished plowing burn field, after which plows in young corn in burn field and the young in orchard (peach); finished with hoes in W. field; hoe hands then went to thinning out corn in piece next to Frank's house.

3. We plowed pindars today, after having finished corn in peach orchard; then four plows breaking out in W. field. Planting peas still. Hoe hands as yesterday afternoon.

4. The four plows as yesterday, except Jack in Edward's place, his horse having gone to depot with a ram and sow pig out of Nancy for Dr. J. W. King. Hoe hands now in big cut of corn.

5. Sunday.

6. Work as on the 4th. I saw 2 red cotton blooms at Montgomery's (one had dropped); I should have said 2 on one stalk.

7. Mrs. P. and Miss P. left this day for Oktibbeha County; started from Montgomery's.

9. Four plows still in W. field, Jack in E. field. Will finish W. field today; will finish going over corn, thinning and working over today.

10. After finishing corn, hoe hands then commenced working potatoes and finished today, and plows finishing W. field last, plowed the potatoes today. After dinner all hands went into E. field, 4 plows breaking out and hoes cleaning and drawing earth to cotton. Cradling oats in front of house today.

11. The *first cotton bloom* seen today, but several, and one had

fallen. All hands in E. field but Cyrus, he continues to cut oats. Dry.

12. Sunday. Gipsey has only 10 pigs.

15. Hoe hands in E. field, doing slow, slow work. Plows having finished cotton (yesterday) in E. field commenced in cut below gin house and finished today before 12 o'clock, having planted peas, then went to burn field.

16. Weighed the bacon today and find we have 1,579 lbs. Weighed this day the two young boars, Major weighing 100 lbs., Neshoba, 80 lbs.

18. Plows finished burn field yesterday, now finishing in orchard, all sowed in peas; 2 plows running round corn last planted. Jerome, etc., not done E. field yet, slow, slow.

19. A light rain yesterday evening, though of itself not enough for any good, yet serving finely as preparatory to fine, abundant rains last night and today. Corn all just plowed and laid by. Rain in very fine time. Mrs. Spence directs I shall select 3 pigs as I may deem best. Were I choosing for myself I would select a boar from Gipsey and two sows from Queen, as they now are, unless one of Little Mysie's sow pigs is not engaged to Mr. B. Wills. So I sell to him 3d choice boar from Gipsey and 2d and 3d choice sow pigs of Queen, putting Queen's pigs to him at \$20 (though choice should be \$25), and the boar at \$25.

20. Finished E. field at last today early. All hands in young corn by E. field, 2 plows barring off. Rain again today. Planted out some vines and drawings. Although Irish potatoes were rooted up by hogs and eaten down by cattle, they are (what are left) large and fine.

22. Finished working corn near E. field today, drawing up to sweet potatoes; 2 double teams in spring field breaking up, 2 single in oats patch next to corn, left-hand side of road for peas.

23. Weighed Daisy today—7 months old and weighs 145½ lbs.

26. Absent to Raymond 24 and 25. We plowed over the old (and cleanest of sprouts) ground in spring field and planted (yesterday) in corn and pumpkins. Jerome, etc., working over W. field since 9 o'clock on Thursday, too wet to either do good work or enough of it.

27. Plows in W. field until *rain* drove in yesterday; today all hands at hoe. Jacob, Edward, and Jack plowed round corn near E. field on 27th and broke out where the rye was.

JULY, 1842.

1. Too wet to run plows, all hands at the hoe in W. field; rain every day.

3. Sunday. Jerome finished W. field at last yesterday; all plows there.

6. Plows finished W. field last night. Hoe hands having worked last planting of potatoes, started again in W. field. Plowed the young corn where rye and oats were today. Budded out today buds from the following named trees: 1. Apricot Peach, cling stone. 2. Old Mixon, cling stone. 3. Washington, cling stone. 4. Large Red, cling stone. 5. Heath, cling stone. 6. Wagle's Favorite Yellow, free stone. 7. Nutmeg, first early, free stone. 8. Large Early Red Rone, ripe, free stone. 9. Princes Paragon, free stone. 10. Blush Pine Apple, cling stone.

8. Weighed boar pigs today before feeding: Major, 123½; Neshoba, 97; 22 days gain 23½ and 17 lbs. 5 plows in E. field yesterday and 4 today, will finish; cotton so large only running twice in a row with double plows.

11. Sold to Mr. Spence for Mrs. Spence, Emily's bull calf at \$50; a pair of sow pigs (one from Queen, one from Mysie); also a boar pig, 1st choice, retaining myself an interest and presenting Mrs. S. with a white Berkshire sow pig and a boar pig from Queen, so as to preserve Gipsey's boar pig, price \$100. Maria Taylor a calf this afternoon.

12. All hands in E. field cotton.

13. Three hands plowing in W. field, balance in E. field at hoe; balance of hands, except Cyrus, in E. field; Cyrus cutting millet. Mary a calf about night.

20. Finished plowing cotton in W. field on the 18th. Hoe hands still in E. field and get on slowly, very grassy, though cotton is locked. Commenced plowing young corn yesterday, will finish about 10 o'clock today. Cyrus cutting millet all last week and this. Hauled 4 loads on 18th and 15th; *large* loads.

22. Hauled up 4 loads of millet today. Cyrus has finished. Jerome has nearly done cotton, on the last rows.

23. Weighed Daisey today, 168 lbs.; Gibbes' boar weighed 197 lbs. on 20th; commenced getting shingles yesterday.

27. Amy gave birth to a girl child at half-past 2 P. M.

28. Laura had a calf this morning. Gibbes sent me 7 she hands to help pull fodder this morning. Sent Spence 3 sows and 2 boars (one of Queen's, 1 of Mysie's, 1 of Jo's, 1 boar of Gipsey's, 1 of Queen's); sent Gibbes yesterday 2 sow pigs (1 of Queen's and 1 of Mysie's); sent Mrs. Whitford one of Queen's.

30. Hauled up this afternoon about 6 stacks (single) of fodder in 3 loads.

AUGUST, 1842.

1. Fair Star, 6 pigs. Topping cotton today in W. field.

5. Hauled up last night and today about 7 single stacks at 4 loads, 1 load very fine.

8. Hauled up on 6th (Saturday) 2½ good loads, equal to about 4 single stacks. Hauled up today 2 good loads, equal to about 3 single stacks. We have now housed 11½ loads, each one averaging over a double stack, one load 900 bundles. Due Jerome for 600 bundles and Jack for 65 bundles. Plowing for turnips, one two-horse plow, a Walter plow following.

10. We have now made 67 lbs. of sugar into peach preserves, besides 4 gallons of last year, about 45 lbs.; 9 lbs. of loaf sugar into water melon preserves; 2 lbs. of loaf sugar into musk melon preserves. Using only 4 lbs. of Montgomery's white sugar; using only 12 lbs. of Montgomery's white sugar on 16th in making brandy peaches; 2 lbs. for water melon syrup, 12 lbs. to 4 gallons.

10. Finished cleaning up lots and hauling manure today, have hauled out over 200 good single cart loads, taking about 17 days' work of one hand, such as mine average, and at same time cleaning out both lots and stables, besides ½ day of 4 hauling up brick, etc.

13. We have plowed the 5-acre lot known as millet lot, with two-horse plow, and followed by bull tongue in same furrow, afterwards harrowed with 3 yoke of oxen, a log on the harrow. Today plowed the farthest piece in spring field for turnips.

16. Sowed on 15th turnips in spring field and where Guinea grass; drilled 10 rows today west of garden; sowed the millet lot in wheat on 15th.

We have now reeled 219 cuts, equal to 70 yards, only 91 cuts

of cotton thread. Budding today the following varieties of peaches, nectarine and apricot:

Magdaline Cling.

Aunt Sarah.

New Orange.

Harrison's New.

Dabney.

Lemon.

Satterfield's Heath.

Nectarine.

Holland Apricot.

Scarlet Apricot.

21. Received today a  $\frac{1}{2}$  blood Southdown buck from Tarpley; turned in ewes to-night.

25. Sowing today turnip seed of the Red Round, Flat Dutch, and Yellow Stone; sowed yesterday below garden ruta baga.

26. We have since 22d spun and reeled 90 cuts more of thread.

27. We have since 22d spun and reeled 39 cuts more.

29. Got from Hamilton today 15 candles, weighing not quite  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.

31. Rain. 16 more cuts of cotton thread, now in all 236 cuts, 57 yards.

#### SEPTEMBER, 1842.

2. Owing to W. Harlan's negligence at Edward's depot I did not receive the pigs from Peyton yesterday, although the cart was there in wait, got them home tonight.

4. Send today those belonging to Wm. Wills, A. K. Montgomery, and W. R. Gibbes home. Also send a boar pig out of Queen to J. T. Blow; a boar pig out of Queen to Jas. Elliot; a boar pig out of Queen to H. K. Moss; and a sow pig out of Gipsey to Moss.

11. Pressed 6 bales today—458, 440, 428, 420, 404, 400. Daisey had 7 pigs, beautifully colored as far as I can see; Baldwin, 7 pigs.

14. Preserved yesterday and today 40 lbs. of loaf sugar into quince preserves. Rain 3 last days.

17. The first fair day this week.

19. Hauled up 5 loads of corn, making 16 loads hauled this season.

20. Sent off today Dr. King's calf and B. Well's pigs; also sent Cyrus to *Col. Tarpley's* for my sow pigs and Southdown ram. 7 loads of corn, 23 loads in all.
21. Turned my full bred Southdown buck "*Colonel*" to the ewes this night.
22. Sent to depot 3 sows and 1 boar for Thos. Fitzhugh. Received two sow pigs from Tarpley in payment of Spot and Sue, named Puss and Peggy.
24. Sent to N. & R. 5 bales today (one of them included 11th), weighing 6, 458; 7, 387; 8, 437; 9, 445; 10, 403. Sowing rye in W. lot, 1 bushel per acre. Hauled in 5 loads very close ship shucked; 28 loads in all, 900 bushels.
29. Sold and sent this day to Mr. C. S. Spann near Brownsville, Foster's boar pig out of Gipsey by Sampson, being his order to sell at his risk.

OCTOBER, 1842.

1. Brought the cow Mary from Watson's today.
6. Pressed 8 bales of cotton today and weighed: 11, 425; 12, 401; 13, 390; 14, 386; 15, 430; 16, 413; 7, 414; 18, 427; 19, 422; 20, 412.
7. Balance of 10 bales on night of 7th and morning of 8th.
10. Having rained 8th and 9th, we hauled corn today, 5 loads, 33 loads in all, say 1,100 bushels.
14. Pressed 2 bales last night and today: 21, 416; 22, 398.
15. Pressed 2 bales today: 23, 392; 24, 387.
18. In referring back to size of ox wagon body I find it measures 158 cubic feet, which will make it hold 52 bushels of slipped shuck corn. The amount hauled in will then stand thus, 13 loads not slipt shucked, I estimate to hold 30 bushels each, equal to 390 bushels; and 20 loads well slipt shucked to hold 50 bushels each 1,000 bushels; total, 1,390 bushels.
19. Gathering peas 17, 18 and 19 until 9 o'clock. Have now gathered *over* 40 hampers full. Measured 5 bushels in the hulls filling the largest hamper basket, and threshed out near 5 pecks. I judge we have 40 bushels, and picked after the above 7 hamper baskets more. Baled today and last night and tonight 5 bales: 26, 27, 28, 29, 30; 400, 383, 400, 404, 418; total, 2,005.
20. First frost. Pulling corn today, all hands.

21. Hauled up today 9 loads of corn (5 of Gibbes and 4 of ox wagon), 360; in all 1,750. Received order from Dr. W. S. Wills, engaging Tam O'Shanter and one of Gipsey's sow pigs (the puny one), \$48.

22. Hauled in today 9 loads (4 of Gibbes and 5 of ox wagon), say 360; in all 2,170 bushels; 14 loads in the W. end of corn house.

25. Hauled up 8 loads yesterday and 3 today, 11 loads (63 loads), say 340; in all 2,450 bushels.

26. Sent Tam O'Shanter and Gipsey's smallest sow pig to depot today for Dr. W. S. Wills, of Clinton. Gave blankets out this night: To Jerome, 1; Milly, 1; Cyrus, 1; Nanny, 1; Frank, 1; Louisa, 1; Peyton and Amy, 1; Eliza and family, 2; Jacob, 1; Jane, 1; Edward, 1; Jack, 1; Patty, 1.

27. Finished digging potatoes today, about 2 days' work; hauled in 165 bushels.

28. Hauled in today 20 bushels more of yams, making of yams housed 185 bushels; 25 bushels more of yam slips, making 25 bushels; 15 bushels more of Spanish slips (45 of seed) making 15 bushels; Spanish potatoes, 100 bushels; Cut potatoes and Spanish, 60 bushels; total of potato crop, 385 bushels.

#### NOVEMBER, 1842.

3. Sowed about 7 bushels of rye in field east of potato patch, no plowing.

7. Plowing negro house lot today, cleaning up, etc.; rain yesterday. Received today from Munsar Beach of Ohio, 3 pigs: One boar by Windsor Castle; one boar by Newbury; one sow by Newbury.

28. Weighed today 8 bales that were pressed at night: 31, 346; 32, 370; 33, 369; 34, 402; 35, 371; 36, 337; 37, 331; 38, 398; and by Cyrus in day: 39, 425; 40, 398; 41, 435; 42, 401; 43, 414; 44, 387.

#### DECEMBER, 1842.

3. Queen has this day ten pigs.

7. Cyrus sowed a few acres of oats above spring and wheat below gin.

8. Nancy has some 8 or 9 pigs, all dead but 2.
9. Ginned for J. Hubbard  $3\frac{1}{2}$  days and ginned out and pressed the following: 1, 525; 2, 515; 3, 530; 4, 534; 5 (toll), 543; 6, 531; 7, 504; 8, 510; 9, 511; 10, 485; total, 5,188.
12. We pressed another bale for Hubbard today, weighed 455, and marked 5, as I took the No. 5 above of the 9th, leaving a balance of 300 lbs. Pressed today 5 bales, weighing (50 toll cotton, 543); 51, 458; 52, 478; 53, 478; 54, 488; 55, 450. We used tonight a part of Hubbard's cotton. Weight of his cotton as written to him tonight, 5,934 lbs.; my toll, 593 lbs.
13. Used of Hubbard's, 92; leaving 208 lbs, weighed it today. Now ginning for Dr. Rossman. Killed today 8 hogs: 148, 145, 162, 200, 146, 168, 173, 162; total, 1,324; average, 165.
16. Pressed 8 bales of Rossman's cotton: 12, 451; 13, 460; 14, 457; 15, 477; 16, 467; 17, 445; 18, 446; 19, 444; total, 3,653.
19. Sent off 3 of Rossman's bales and 2 of Log Hall (55 and 46). Sent off 7 cow hides, 139 lbs. Received from Dr. Rossman 27 ewes and 3 wethers, to be paid by toll cotton. One lamb from Rossman's sheep this morning.
21. Two more at this time. Killed today 20 hogs, making 2,926 lbs. of pork; in all 4,250 lbs.
23. Pressed yesterday and today 11 bales: 20, 425; 21, 417; 22, 422; 23, 396; 24, 420; 25, 414; 26, 404; 27, 424; 28, 421; 29, 405; 30, 396; 31, 411; 32, 435; 33, 451; 34, 444; 35, 432; 36, 438; 37, 470; 38, 445; 39, 444; 40, 437; 41, 453; 42, 435.
26. Leela, a heifer calf this morning.
27. Cherry has a heifer calf today, red with a little white in flanks.
28. Pressed the balance of Rossman's cotton, 37, 470; 38, 445; 39, 444; 40, 437; 41, 453; 42, 445; with a remnant of 200 lbs. Pressed today 4 bales of our own: 57, 440; 58, 452; 59, 437; 60, 417.
29. And 4 today: 61, 436; 62, 413; 63, 427; 64, 400 (151 lbs. of Rossman's).
30. Killed 2 hogs and a porker, weighing say, 250 lbs.; killed 13th December, 1,324 lbs.; killed 21st December, 2,926; total, 4,500.

JANUARY, 1843.

4. Pressed this day 9 bales (J. Hubbard) : 11, 421; 12, 408; 13, 424; 14, 397; 15, 418; 16, 440; total, 2,508.

7. Snow. 10 bales today, 7 for Rossman : 43, 415; 44, 440; 45, 428; 46, 470; 47, 446; 48, 441; 49, 433; 50, 434; 51, 423; 52, 448; total, 4,378; and 3 for Hubbard: 17, 470; 18, 454; 19, 445; 23, 452; 24, 450 (toll); 25, 439 (toll).

9. 20, 445; 21, 451; 22, 455; 26, 463 (used my bagging on 4 bales of Hubbard's); 27, 472; 28, 487; total, 2,763 plus 2,720 plus 2,508 equals 7,991 lbs. and a remnant of 128 lbs., equals 8,119 lbs. ginned. I take Nos. 24 and 25, weighing 450 and 439, equals 889. My toll is 812; deduct from this 41 lbs. used once before, and I claim 771. This taken from 889 makes me due Mr. Hubbard 118 lbs.

12. Planted about 1½ barrels of Irish potatoes in vineyard lot.

13. We cut up and rolled all E. field by 10 o'clock, then cut up west of it.

14. And rolled some 20 to 30 acres, being all that were cut up and then cutting in hillsides. Threshing down cotton stalks in E. field yesterday and today.

18. Baled 10 bales today: W. R. (used my bagging on 6½ bales; rope on 3½) : 53, 455; 54, 446; 55, 457; 56, 461; 57, 437—2,256. Log hall, 65, 431; 66, 435; 67, 450; 68, 439 (toll of Hubbard); 69, 420. R. Maxey, 1, 450; 2, 440.

20. Bred Queen to Osceola today. Planted today Irish potatoes 2 barrels, and to try the "moon story," as we plant on the decline of the moon; some of the same as planted before, on the increase. Those planted today are the first 5 rows from the fence, and the last 21½. Having planted those next to fence deep, trying what advantage in deep planting.

21. Pressed today 10 bales: For W. R., 58, 462; 59, 456; 60, 433; 61, 431; 62, 445; 63, 440—2,677—2,256 (18th)—4,933+4,378—9,311. J. H., 29, 433; 30, 437; 31, 437; 32, 462; 33, 420; 34, 395; 35, 415; 36, 441; 117 (remnant)—3,558. Amount ginned for Hubbard, 17,620 lbs.; toll, 1,762; received, 635+450+439—1,524; due me, 238 lbs.

23. Sowed marrowfat, cluster and imperial peas, in that order

from chicken lot. Sowed today 6 bushels of Egyptian oats near willow spring.

24. Bred Ohio Lass to Major; Little Mysie to Logan. Sowed today Early York, Sugar Loaf and Drumhead cabbage, lettuce and radish. Planted 1 gallon of the buttons of onions. Helen has a heifer calf to-day.

26. Still sowing oats, have sown 26 bushels of Egyptian oats and 3 of potato oats. Bred Gipsey to Osceola today.

29. Eight lambs of old stock and 5 of Rossman's. Rain on 27th and 29th. Cleared off cold.

### FEBRUARY, 1843.

1. Eighteen lambs with stock, 2 at the house and 1 dead, making in all 21. 2 plows now plowing in rye below cow lot. Burning brush below boar lot.

3. Sowed down the boar lots in rye yesterday. Sowing oats today. Now raining again, 9 o'clock. 25 lambs in pasture, 2 at house and 1 dead. Sowed about 2 acres of rye in field.

4. Plowing up sweet potato patch, knocking down cotton stalks in W. field, all in E. field done, and cutting up logs that blew down on the 1st, having cut up and rolled all but W. field before this. 29 lambs in pasture, 2 at house and 2 dead.

6. Four plows in E. field, laying off, and throwing up for corn. Fair Star has 4 pigs today.

8. Thirty-three lambs alive and 3 dead. Trees and timber covered this morning with sleet. Bred Isa to Major today.

19. Rain and sleet on the 14th, snow on the 15th. Thermometer 26° the morning of 15th, 25° on 16th. Cold and disagreeable all week until yesterday. Cutting up logs, hauling rails and *put up fence* yesterday west of *East field*. 34 lambs alive and 5 dead.

### *"Memor Mori."*

The best milk cow we ever owned

*Died*

Yesterday the 18th Feb.

Cause

Unknown.

Our "Old Dun,"

Aged near 15 years.

23. Finished plowing the corn ground, upland; now about 65 acres ready for planting.
23. Bred Marian to Logan this day.
25. Commenced yesterday bedding up for cotton in burn field, finished throwing up 3 furrows in it today. Sowed today cabbage, radish, lettuce, tomato—the first sowing killed.
27. Received today a present of a pair of Merino sheep from Dr. W. S. Gibbs, of South Carolina. Began to plant corn in E. field this evening.
28. Have now planted about 18 acres in E. field west of the road. Slight rain today. Sowed today a row of peas, the Marrowfat and part of Blue Imperial.

MARCH, 1843.

3. We planted today about 23 acres of corn. Seed soaked in saltpetre water. 2 hands covering with harrows and 3 breaking out baulks with 2-horse plows.
4. Rainy day. Favorite had 6 pigs today, 2 of them dead.
6. Betty Carter had 2 pigs.
8. Bred Mysie to Logan.
10. All hands have been rolling, grubbing and burning in the new ground part of W. field all week. A very heavy rain on the night of 6th, cloudy the 7th, part of 8th, 9th, and this morning every appearance of more rain. Planted out yesterday my yam Massicot and peach kernels.
11. Ellen has 10 pigs this morn, all died on the 14th.
13. Thermometer at 40° at 20 minutes after 6.
14. We have now planted all upland, say about 70 acres. Bred Marian again today to Logan.
16. Sleet and snow last night, some 3 inches thick.
17. Tonight we see a singular hazy appearance in the southwest of the heavens.
24. Bred Fair Star to Major. Turned Ellen to Logan, Constance to Osceola. Snowing now, as also did on the 21st. Finished clearing up W. field and plowing the new ground part yesterday. Now laying off for cotton in it (W. F.) with two plows and bedding up with 3 double teams. We have thrown up 3 furrows for cotton in orchard, finished yesterday. Jerome

and his set put up W. field fence yesterday and today, cleaning up brush, etc., before the plows. Thermometer at 8 P. M., 28°.

25. Snow this morn fully 5 inches deep, clear. Thermometer at 7 A. M., 31°. 39 lambs alive and 5 dead. We have had 5 lambs dropped since the 21st of February, which are by the "Colonel," a thoroughbred Southdown, 4 of them dropped within the past week. The snow has nearly all gone, a fine, pleasant day *but for the snow* on the ground. Planted over the part of E. field west of road today. Rain at 9 P. M.

APRIL, 1843.

1. Bred Ohio Lass to Major. Gipsey and Marian running in rye patch with Logan for a week.

Measure of Gipsey: From ears to root of tail, 55 inches; height, 33 inches; girt around the fore shoulder, 56½ inches; girt around the flank, 55½ inches; length from end of nose to square with ham, 68 inches; square across the hams, 14½ inches.

3. Planted out today 2½ acres of sweet potatoes, ¾ of which were Spanish. Sowed today radish, egg plant, tomato, parsnip, carrots and beets the day after.

5. Planted the 23 acres over in E. field that was planted on 3d of March.

6. Sowed flower seeds today.

8. Planted the new ground part of W. field today. Finished breaking up cotton land entire.

9. Turned Osceola, Constance and Isa together into northwest lot. Sowed a few apple seed, though it be Sunday.

10. Planting cotton with two sets of hands, finished orchard, 23 acres, by 5 o'clock.

13. Turned Ellen to Osceola yesterday. Planting corn in spring field today. Harrowing on the corn planted in March, badly up, but now near the surface. Set out some 250 cabbage plants yesterday.

15. Planting corn in spring field yet, pretty nearly done breaking up as also cleaning up the ground.

16. Silk worms out yesterday. Morus leaves about size of half dollar.

18. Finished planting spring field yesterday. Commenced working corn today. Planted millet today, very thick.
19. Finished working the old planting in E. side of E. field today and began the corn, E. side of big cut, planted yellow corn.
20. Planting cotton in W. field with Gulph seed today. Raining tonight.
23. Ohio Lass bred to Osceola. Received a boar from R. H. Hendrickson of Ohio (named Wellington) yesterday. A very heavy rain on 21st, washing up fields and overflowing spring field. Swarm of bees  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 P. M.
24. Shearing sheep today and Saturday. Merino ram sheared  $7\frac{3}{4}$  lbs.; Southdown ram, 4 lbs., largest ewe  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; half blood Southdown ram, 8 lbs. Working over corn above spring field. The seeds sown on the 5th are not up yet. Now some 2,000 plants set out. Set out tomatoes today and planted radish seed.
25. Elia, a mule colt last night, measures this morn 37 inches. On the 21st, Friday, was only excelled by the May flood in '40. Did great injury, washing our land much. Such rains not only injure for the present, but for time to come.
26. Planted today early cluster (white), valentine (speckled)) and 6 weeks (yellow).
27. Bred Betty Carter to Wellington today.
28. Nancy had 10 pigs today.

MAY, 1843.

1. Commenced scraping in new ground of W. field today. Finished E. field corn today. 38 lambs alive, 1 sow ate up, 1 died, in all 7 dead.
3. Sent Elia to Red Tom today. Not yet done scraping in the new ground, very rough work.
4. Finished new ground about 9 o'clock. Bred Favourite to Wellington to-day.
7. Hoe hands commenced orchard cut about 10 o'clock on Thursday and very near finished last night, say 23 acres, with 8 hands in 2 days, and little over a half.
11. Finished burn field this forenoon, hands then went into corn. 6 plows cleaning out the corn by E. field and then 4 into

it. Hoe hands cleaned the acre of yellow corn, then into the hollows in the big cut, after which into spring field.

12. First worm winding yesterday. Queen had 11 pigs this morn, 1 pig dead, 2 killed and 1 accidentally. Finished plowing foul part of E. field and then planting one part of spring field. Hoe hands in spring field corn. Corn now generally in fair order, most of it requires plowing. Cotton growing off, though very grassy.

17. Finished corn above spring field yesterday, having plowed with shovels and turning plows, then in E. field, this side of road with double shovels. Will get done this side of road early. Hoe hands commenced in W. field cotton about 11 o'clock, Monday, 15th. It is very foul and we get on slowly, though doing it well.

21. Gipsey had pigs yesterday, 6 boars and 2 sows. Nearly done scraping cotton yesterday, about 5 to 7 acres to do. Also nearly done plowing over corn.

28. Plowed over new ground cotton; also around orchard and burn field. Hoe hands in new ground. Plowed and worked potatoes on 24th and 25th. Commenced plowing corn by E. field. Ellen Douglass a fine bull calf.

We were fortunate enough to return from the fair with all things safe. Took first premiums on Gipsey, on Marion, on butter; second premiums on mule colts and on bulls with Jerry.

#### JUNE, 1843.

1. Plows finished W. field today. Hoe hands now in orchard cut; having finished new ground on Monday evening late. Plows now in spring field corn. Very dry, no rain in 24 days.

18. Left home for Natchez on the 6th, returned 15th. Big Nancy foaled a horse colt on the 8th; Maria Taylor calved a heifer on the 12th. Rain on Saturday, 10th; Monday, 12th; Friday, 16th; Sunday, 18th. Worked over burn field on 13th; commenced in W. field 14th.

22. Lida bred to Wellington today.

23. Rain tonight. Commenced plowing corn last time and sowing peas yesterday. Jacob commenced plowing orchard cotton third time yesterday. Cyrus with him today, running around only.

27. Rain yesterday, too wet to plow or hoe; deadening. Jerome, 2 women and boys in W. field; 6 plows in E. field, 2 dropping peas.

JULY, 1843.

3. Finished hoeing orchard cut on Saturday, the 1st. Plows in burn field, awful grassy. Rain on 30th of June, July 1 and 2.

5. Plows finished burn field on yesterday; hoes in it yesterday.

7. Mysie has 4 pigs, some 3 to 5 days old. Stacked rye today. Hoe hands finished W. field yesterday. Plowing sweet potatoes today.

8. Gipsey bred to Wellington this morning.

11. Five plows in W. field today. Rain again about 12 o'clock. Hoe hands gone to Gibbs to help him.

13. Hoe hands now in W. field, part that was worked over during the wet weather last of June is very foul, with the large bunches of crab grass and ———. Light rain this eve, about 4 o'clock. Ther. at 3, 94°; at 4, 75°. Marian, the finest pig I ever raised, died today, caused by bad treatment at or coming from the fair. We lost Angelina, a fine heifer, some two weeks since, fall of a tree, and no doubt the Devon heifer is dead. Such losses are enough to cool the greatest zeal; these, with the loss of Merino ram and ewe and the death of Coffer's Southdown ram makes one sick of such a train of misfortune. Cannot attribute bad management to anything but the sow.

16. Plows finished W. field yesterday evening, laid by. Hoe hands in W. field. Fair Star had 7 pigs yesterday. Constance had 8 pigs this morn, only 1 alive. Light shower yesterday, not much, neither enough to do good or harm. Weaned off lambs today and separated sheep. Reserved for breeding 29,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Baker-vill, 18,  $\frac{1}{4}$  Southdown; 3 ram lambs—50; for sale 23 sheep, 5 wethers, 11 wethers and lambs—39.

17. Plowed the corn in rye patch today (5 plows) before dinner, then 3 plows in burn field. The corn in the rye patch was planted on the 13th June; barred it off and worked it 1st and 3d of July; now over knee high.

19. Finished plowing cotton this day at 12. Rain at 1 P. M., and replanted potatoes after dinner.

22. Finished W. field today. Cyrus been cutting hay for several days, millet and crab grass.

25. Amy delivered of a girl this afternoon, 25th, Tuesday. Finished burn field today at 11 o'clock, commencing yesterday morn, now in orchard cut again.

29. Rain in very good time, a pretty rain at that. Hauled up of millet and crab grass 7 fair loads.

### AUGUST, 1843.

4. Emily had a calf this morning. Hamilton loans me 10 hands for pulling fodder; commenced today with these and two of our own. Working on road, 8 hands Wednesday, 7 Thursday, 6 today—23 days.

5. Hauled in 5 loads of fodder.

7. Rain before day, Monday morn.

9. Hauled into west lot in short of 2 days, 23 loads, say 1,000 bushels manure. We finished this morning plowing W. lot for turnips, and now crossing the N. W. lot, it having been plowed on 3d and 4th with 2-horse plows.

16. Heavy rains on Saturday and Sunday. Overflow in the creek second time in August since 1830.

17. Finished pulling fodder yesterday, hauled up 3½ loads, now 9 loads 18th. Commenced threshing with Coleman's machine today.

18. And made all hands sick, though all out today, no physic to any but Cyrus.

24. Betty Carter has 4 pigs some 3 or 4 days old. We have measured up 75 bushels of rye. Commenced picking 21st, but no regularity on it—jobbing.

27. Favourite has 2 pigs alive this morn.

### SEPTEMBER, 1843.

9. Brought the Newfoundland slut, Scio, from Raymond today.

18. Countess has 3 pigs over 1 week old, I think.

28. Proposed selling A. C. Davis Gipsey's boar and spotted boar pig, 10 sow pigs, Berk., and 10 sow pigs for 100 dollars.

OCTOBER, 1843.

6. Hauled in on Sept. 30 and Oct. 2, 7 full loads of corn west of road in E. field. Gathered yesterday afternoon and today 18 baskets of peas, principally of Hammond's.
12. Gathered peas today, 19 baskets from E. field, in full 37. Bred Big Nancy to Rosin the Bow on the 13th Oct., Friday.
14. Bought 2 broke mules from Wm. Thomas at \$130, payable after first of Nov., any day.
17. Ginning since Saturday. Hauled in today 4 loads, making from west side of East field, 11 loads. James and Patty gathered yesterday and today 5 baskets of peas, in full 42 baskets.
18. James and Patty and hands, after pulling corn, 4 baskets of peas, in full 46 baskets. Hauled in today 6 loads east side of E. field, making 17 loads. Wagon body measures 12.10 inches long, 47 inches wide and 35 deep. Contains, level full, about 48 bushels, but our loads are heaping.
19. Gathered today 11 baskets of peas, in full 57 baskets. Hauled in today 5 loads corn east side of E. field, making 22 loads.
20. Hauled in today 5 loads east side of E. field, making 27 loads. Hauled in today 3 loads corn east side of E. field, 19 loads, making 30 loads, not short of 1,500 bushels.
26. I record here for a future reference, even 50 years hence, that we have had the following heavy rains within the past week: Sunday morn about day and until some time in forenoon; Monday night, 23d; Tuesday night, 24th; Wednesday night, 25th; Thursday raining until now, 12 o'clock. Certainly enough rain to cause an overflow in the creek, which I dare affirm has never before occurred since a white settlement was made on the creek. Queen has 12 pigs tonight.
27. Snow and sleet 7 A. M. Thermometer 34°.-
28. Heavy frost this morn. Thermometer 33°.

NOVEMBER, 1843.

18. A very heavy rain last night, with the creek swimming before it. Creek has been swimming once before this month. Mr. Nolan has been working on press for nearly 3 weeks and not done yet, much loss of time. It took him 2 days to raise it, with the

gearing beams, counting his bad management, in having to *sorter*, fit nearly every mortice and tennant while hands were idle. I call it a *bad job*, and that it is not worth  $\frac{1}{2}$  price. Were it a job of mine I could not leave it for future remarks of inspectors.

DECEMBER, 1843.

2. Returned from Natchez today, being absent since 20th. Baled while absent 36 bales, weighing as follows:

1..	445	7..	435	13..	443	19..	456	25..	455	31..	413
2..	421	8..	378	14..	385	20..	455	26..	480	32..	419
3..	483	9..	400	15..	413	21..	467	27..	406	33..	392
4..	410	10..	362	16..	427	22..	409	28..	417	34..	429
5..	420	11..	408	17..	380	23..	445	29..	428	35..	430
6..	428	12..	433	18..	426	24..	454	30..	422	36..	451
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2607		2416		2474		2686		2608		2534

Total, 15,325.

The rains have been continued for some days, the creek is now higher than since '40, has broken over Montgomery's levees. No work for some days. Ellen brought up 6 pigs.

2. Mysie had only 2 pigs. Fair Star pigged last night, 9 pigs, 5 of them dead.

8. Planted out yesterday 32 Harvy's seedling strawberries in border corner, 8 rows; 24 Keen's seedling, 6 rows; 1,624 La Grange, 42 rows; 8 Iowa, 2 rows; 18 Mammoth, 5 rows.

We plant today 12 kinds of crysantheums: 1, Bright Yellow; 2, Expanded Yellow; 3, Changeable White; 4, Purple; 5, Rosaline; 6, Sanguinea; 7, Eclipse; 8, Dwarf; 9, Glory; 10 Scott's Yellow; 11, Compaction; 12, Golden.

8. Killed speyed heifer today, weighing 117, 124, 107, 78—426; tallow 46 lbs. Killed steam mile cow on the 2d. Suppose her weight to be 400 lbs. Killed 8 hogs today weighing 209, 166, 232, 226, 197, 233, 207, 218—1,688.

10. We have now of Berkshire pigs and shoats: Barrows, 11 head that are without hogs, and 13 head about house; sows, 9 head; pigs, 3 of Queen's, 2 of Lida's, 4 of Fair Star's, 2 of Mysie's, 6 of Ellen's, in all 51 head.

19. Weighed today the cotton belonging to the estate of W. G. Watson, all that is now ginned marked W.: 1, 445; 2, 406; 3, 446; 4, 381; 5, 423; 6, 422; 7, 406; 10, 413; 8, 471; 9, 398; 11, 412; 12, 402; 13, 367, 6,285, 628 toll. Toll bales: 8, 441; 11, 452.

There seems to be no end of rain. We were only able to pick 3 days last week, and part of 1 this week. The whole swamp is now under water. Nearly all of our young cattle have been in the water for two weeks except a day or so that it was merely off the bank of river.

21. Finished ginning the cotton of the estate of Watson. Pressed 3 bales, weighing as follows: 14, 466; 15, 466; 16, 477, with a remnant to go into a bale with that of Daniel, which weighs No. 17, 598 lbs—216 lbs. of which belongs to Daniel, 352 to the estate and 30 to me. The weight of Watson's, 6,285 + 1,761—8,046. My toll is therefore 804 lbs., to which add 30 lbs. in 17—837 lbs. I have taken 2 bales, 441+452—893. Therefore I have 56 lbs. too much.

22. Constance has 3 pigs, apparently 3 or 4 days old, perhaps others drowned. Isa has today 7 pigs, fine, very fine.

30. Pressed 5 bales this evening: 39, 403; 40, 384; 41, 382; 42, 402; 43, 390—1,961.

Bales of this crop, my own to No. 36, weighed 15,325; 43 weighed 1,961; 46 weighed 1,214; 56 inclusive weighed 4,718; toll, 893—24,111.

Meat for '44: 2 beeves, 426+400—826 lbs.; 8 hogs, killed 8 Dec., 1,688; 10 hogs killed 4 Jan., 1,737; 4 hogs killed 18 Jan., 489.

#### JANUARY, 1844.

4. Pressed 3 bales of our own cotton today: 44, 423; 45, 361; 46, 430—1,214; also one for Cabeen's hands, Bob, etc.: Bob, 305½ (toll, 30.5); Austin, 207½ (toll, 20.7).

Killed 10 hogs today: 200+217+177+182+132+170+150+172+167+190—1,737.

8. Ginned on Saturday and pressed today, 2 bales and remnant W.: 18, 419; 19, 490; remnant, 200. Our account stands to date thus: First 15 bales weighed 6,285; 4 bales weighed 1,761; 2 bales and remnant, 1,109—9,155. My toll should be 915 and 30 lbs. of my cotton used, say 945 lbs. I have taken 2

bales, 893 lbs., and 200 lbs. of a remnant, 1,093 lbs.—too much, 148 lbs.

12. Finished ginning and pressing all cotton that is picked, this lot being what was picked out of W. field latterly: 47, 482; 48, 521; 49, 488; 50, 477; 51, 507; 52, 450; 53, 511; 54, 414; 55, 476; 56, 392—4,718 (250 lbs. of this was toll cotton).

### FEBRUARY, 1844.

17. Began to plow in E. field for this year's crop on the 12th. Jacob laying off lands 30 feet wide and 4 two-horse plows breaking out. Did not get started at it until noon, and lost some time on Tuesday and Wednesday with a young mule; also by trial of plows on Wednesday, and by grinding half of a day; as also by one hand being away. About 35 acres plowed. We rolled nearly all logs on the 9th and 10th. Not yet burned up. All cornstalks down and began orchard cut of cotton stalks. Alva came up out of swamp with a calf on 15th.

20. Laura a calf on the 18th.

24. Commenced flushing with 4 two-horse plows and 1 single horse on the 12th (Monday, about 12) and finished it, new ground part and all, 63 acres, on the 23d about 10 o'clock, the single horse being out the night before. Began in south field on 23d; 2 teams out Saturday afternoon to grind.

Hauled out in August 43 loads of manure, full 1,000 bushels, in W. lot for cotton; Jan., 200 bushels in garden for raspberries; Jan. and Feb., 1,000 bushels in garden for manuring and hotbed; 400 bushels in flower garden; cotton seed from 60 bales, 1,800 bushels—4,400 bushels.

### MARCH, 1844.

1. Finished planting E. field today at 10, 63 acres in  $3\frac{1}{4}$  days. Rain this evening, being the first since 23d of Jan.

5. First lambs I have seen today, only two. Flushing corn land in burn field. Nearly done cleaning up entire.

10. We planted hillside north of spring field on Friday, 8th, after which started to bedding up for cotton in W. field with 5 teams, only 3 running on Saturday, the fellows being engaged in raising negro houses. We have now planted about 90 acres of

corn, broke out about 30 acres for cotton, millet and potatoes, and thrown 2 furrows in about 25 of cotton land, all the logs rolled, brush, etc., pretty well burned off, with some hollows cleared up. Bedded out some 20 bushels of sweet potato slips on Friday, 8th. 12 lambs today.

11. We have now threshed out 24 bushels of peas.

14. We have threshed out 8½ bushels of peas on this day. Ginned today 515 lbs. of cotton for Cabbeen; 51 lbs. toll, 10 for hauling, 20 for amount due.

Seeds from Washington City. I sowed yesterday the following of those seeds: Bassano beet, a new and superior variety introduced by M. B. Bateman, editor of *Genessee Farmer*, from Italy; Green Marrowfat peas; ——— peas; asparagus pole beans, good for stringing when grown; prolific white bush bean, excellent for table, good for stock, has yielded 40 bushels per acre in Massachusetts.

Received from depot this evening a lot of fruit trees from Minor's Nursery, near Clarksville, Tenn., embracing 30 varieties of apple, 6 of plum and 3 of pear; also Chinese double flowering apple, dwarf paradise apple, pie plants, etc.

Twenty-four lambs alive and 1 dead today. Threshed out yesterday 3½ bushels of peas, making 36 bushels. Plowing in W. field, breaking out entire prior to planting.

18. Finished threshing peas, 12½, in full 48½ bushels.

19. Hauled out in the past 10 days in my experiment cotton, 40 acres; 66 loads with 2 yoke of oxen, a fair average of 30 bushels, say 1,980 bushels; 160 bushels in garden; 4,400 bushels previously elsewhere—6,980 bushels.

Planted today beans and okra; a few days, pepper, cabbage, egg plant, radish (also this 2 weeks ago) and parsnip. James P. Brenan left home for Mr. T. Faming's school on the 7th.

21. Fourteen more loads of manure, 420, in full 7,400 bushels. We have now planted all of W. field that is not too wet, say 42 acres. Now bedding up in south field immediately south of orchard. Planted one row of sugar cane today in potato patch.

24. Thirty lambs alive, 2 dead. Six more loads on 22d and 6 on 23d—360 bushels.

26. Fifteen more loads today and yesterday with 3 yoke, say 40 bushels—600. Manure now stands thus: In W. lot in Aug.

last and March, 1,000+2,760,—4,360; in garden on 19th, 160; previously, 3,400,—7,920 bushels.

28. Planted today on the east side of road in orchard in the first row of trees the following: 3 hills of birdseye, or Nausemond melon seed, pure and best quality, being a long silvered melon; 4 hills of improved black seed; improved Carolina to stake; those given me by Mr. Hamilton to stake; by Dr. Bryan to end of row; calico corn between 1st and 2d cherry trees; excellent white corn beyond the last cherry; twin corn from Gen. Forman beyond 1st apple to 1st stake.

Finished pressing on Thursday, 27th.

31. Sent off the last cotton yesterday and finished breaking up all land excepting spring field.

APRIL, 1844.

4. Planting my experiment patch today, having moistened 5 bushels of Dr. Nutt's seed with water, in which 3 quarts of salt was dissolved, then rolled in dry unleached ashes, dropping 10 to 20 seed 3 feet apart, rows laid off  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet apart, 100 loads of manure of 30 bushels each being lately hauled on this  $4\frac{1}{4}$  acres, having had 23 loads, thought to be 1,000 bushels, hauled in August last.

I punched out two blind teeth and burnt the cords leading from the eye to the nose on Nancy today, she having the big jaw.

8. Began in E. field on west side of road to work over corn, 3 plows running around and can scarcely keep ahead of 7 hands, very near 20 acres of hoe work and over 20 of plow work done. Shearing sheep today. Planted the piece of cotton in field south of orchard on 5th and 6th. Planted sweet potatoes on Thursday, 4th, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre on the ridge. Two swarms of bees to date, one on 29th March and one on April 11.

17. Commenced plowing E. field corn after dinner; light rain.

18. Plant the white flint corn this morn that came from Washington. Scraping cotton since the 15th. Finished scraping and replanting W. field on 20th, and experiment lot on the 22d.

Turnip seed are all housed 23d, Jerome and his gang being at it all day.

30. There is a very general complaint of the cutworm, many have replanted once, twice and thrice, some have planted corn over; others, for want of seed, have planted much of cotton land in corn.

MAY, 1844.

4. Finished replanting W. field again today and scraped over piece in it side of ditch. Breaking up spring field and planting corn today.

5. There being a light rain we planted out sweet potato drawings, although it is Sunday, and this morning drawed up earth to them.

6. Began to scrape in center field where potatoes were.

11. Commenced working over cotton the second time today in the W. lot. Plowing out middles of W. field cotton with shovel plows. Two harrows in E. field corn, though contrary to opinion of most farmers.

19. Finished harrowing E. field yesterday, now in burn field. A light shower.

20. A better rain than since 28 of March. Planted out a few rows of sweet potatoes.

22. Finished harrowing corn today about 10 o'clock. Plows finished W. field before noon yesterday, hoe hands at night. The plows and hoes are now in south field, W. of road done.

24. Plows and harrows finished cotton yesterday evening and this morn, orchard and all. Plowed the trial patch today with double shovel plows. Finished hoeing our cotton the second time this morn early.

29. We began to lay by corn and sowing peas at 3 o'clock on 27th. Measured up corn on hand in the corn house and find 134 barrels in the shuck, 140 bushels; 125 barrels shucked, 200 bushels—340 bushels. It will require to feed 8 horses until 1st of Sept., 182 bushels; hands 6 bushels in week, 78; hogs 1-3 bushel per day, 30—290 bushels.

Saw a cotton bloom that had dropped today at Montgomery's.

30. Six fellows working on road today.

JUNE, 1844.

4. Sent two wagon loads of corn to North & Harrison, Ray-

mond, today: The ox wagon, 30 barrels in shuck and 13 shucked; horse wagon, 40 barrels, 50 bushels.

5. Sent to Dr. Rossman, 29 barrels of corn in shuck. Helping Gibbs yesterday with 6 hands, today with 3.

7. Delivered to Mr. Hale for Dr. J. R. Coleman, 32 barrels of corn, 40 bushels. 2 cultivators in South field cotton all day. 4 plows in W. field after finishing corn.

10. Sent to Rossman 27 barrels of corn, in all 56 barrels, 70 bushels, at 75 cents, \$52.00.

12. Cut 10 feet square of sowed corn today, weighs 82 lbs.—30,000 per acre.

19. Finished orchard cut of cotton yesterday. Plowing spring field corn today, having hoed it some 10 days since. Ripe peaches on 16th, not fully ripe until 18.

28. One ripe watermelon a week since.

#### JULY, 1844.

1. Cut a head of cabbage measuring 31½ inches in circumference. Another peach fully ripe today, clear stone. Finished spring field corn tonight. Plows will finish W. field by breakfast, hoes now in premium cotton.

6. Finished orchard cut today at noon, having finished south field on the 3d a little before night; now in W. field.

9. Thermometer today at past 5 P. M., was at 88° in the house suspended against chimney; in cistern above water 74°, in the water 68° scant.

11. Very fine rain about 5 P. M. Setting out potato vines and drawings.

18. Finished plowing W. field 16th. Hauling up smoke-house logs. Cleaning up pastures, rolling and burning off the north pasture. Cutting millet yesterday and today. Thermometer has been ranging from 78° in morn to 89°, highest for days.

22. Began to pull fodder today.

23. We have now hauled up our millet crop without being wet, 9 loads. About 1 good load of fodder now shocked up, and if no rain will haul up tomorrow.

30. Hauled up 11 loads of fodder to date, including Jerome's and Jack's load.

AUGUST, 1844.

1. Rain today, too much.

10. Began to gather cotton on Monday, 5th. Received yesterday from Mr. Cockrell's plantation, as a present from Mark Cockrell, a ram, "Father Abraham." Sheared him today, sheared 10 lbs. Received also a ewe from Mr. James Brown as a present.

11. Eliza gave birth to a girl today, Sunday, about 1 o'clock.

12. Sowed multicole rye on the 10th and 12th.

26. Began to gin today at 12 o'clock, having now over 15,000 lbs. gathered. There being a fine rain last night we raised nearly the smoke house.

29. I weighed up today and ginned out of seed cotton 404½ lbs. It yielded as follows: Of cotton seed, 274½ lbs.; cotton, 114; motes, 3; loss, 13—404½ lbs. The seed measured heaping measure, 11 bushels. The seed thus weighs 25 lbs. per bushel. It will take 1,410 lbs. to make a bale of 400 lbs., not including covering and 35 bushels of seed to the bale, and 28 lbs. to the cwt. This trial, although made entirely under my own eye, I ginning and weighing myself, does not give satisfaction, the "loss of 13 lbs." I cannot account for.

31. We have now 24,004 lbs. of cotton gathered and 11 bales of it pressed.<sup>24</sup>

13. Pressed and weighed yesterday evening and today by 4 o'clock 12 bales, making in all 23 bales, weighing 9,519 lbs., and a remnant of over 200 lbs., from 34,572 lbs. of seed cotton.

25. Pressed 14 bales for estate of Watson—6,072.

26. Pressed 5 bales more, making in all 8,255. I furnished bagging, rope and twine for 17; due me therefore for that of 15 bales.

27. My cotton pressed since 13th amounts to 6 more bales.

28. Began to pull corn on 26th, Thursday, being rainy. Frost on mornings of 29th and 30th.

OCTOBER, 1844.

3. Hauled to date 35 loads of corn. Crop of corn stands thus: 62¾ acres (deducting road) in corn. From this is to be deducted:

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<sup>24</sup>Detailed statistics of cotton weights, as given in the M.S. diary, will be omitted from this point in the published narrative.—EDITOR.

New ground 6 acres and 1 acre on east side that we did not gather over the product  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acres and at least 2 acres cut down when green. Thus we may calculate upon having gathered from 56 acres—200 bushels prior to hauling and 35 loads. We have been grinding about 6 weeks and feeding somewhat near to 8 weeks, thus used for bread 36 bushels and about 20 bushels per week for mules and stock, 160, say 200 bushels in all. Then if load holds to measurement, 1,950 from 56 acres—near 35 bushels per acre. Hauled from spring field about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  loads today, in all  $37\frac{1}{2}$  loads. Picked for Edward today 176 lbs. of cotton, for Peyton 396.

5. Five loads today, making  $42\frac{1}{2}$  loads of corn, fully 2,350 bushels gathered. Spring field and hillsides, which I rated at 22 acres, only yielded  $7\frac{1}{2}$  loads, or 375 bushels.

14. Light rain. Pressed today bales 16 to 28. Gathered with 7 hands on 12th 11 bushels of peas.

17. Pressed bales 29 to 41 since Sept. 26.

21. We have now pressed 22,552 lbs., equal to 56 bales of 400 and 152 lbs. over.

31. Sowed today 5 oz. of multicolored rye, a present from Hon. Mr. Ellsworth. Frost on mornings of 30th and 31st, potato vines nipped and such tender things as dahlias. Gathered from burn field yesterday and today  $11\frac{1}{2}$  loads, in all 54 loads of corn.

#### NOVEMBER, 1844.

1. Gathered today 4 more loads, making  $15\frac{1}{2}$  loads from burn field, and as this was hauled in principally by the negroes, wagons held 46 bushels by measurement,  $15\frac{1}{2}$ —713 bushels divided by 20 acres equal to 35 13-20 per acre. The crop of corn amounts to 59 loads, 3,063 bushels. Sowed 11 bushels of rye today, it being floated in brine and rolled in lime. We floated off some  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of chaff, faulty grains and weevil-eaten ones, leaving after soaking and rolling 13 bushels of grain, sowed on  $6\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land.

7. Digging potatoes today. Weighed a potato selected as I walked along, 1 lb. 15 oz., from vines planted after 11 July; another weighed 2 lbs. 10 oz., from the same vines.

9. Gathered and banked up 4 heaps, holding about 50 bushels

each of eating potatoes and 2 heaps holding about 65 bushels in all of slips.

16. Spent 13th and 14th at fair in Warren County; took 10 premiums.

18. Pressed out the last bale of estate of Watson's cotton now here (12 more bales) amounting to 5,258 pounds.

19. Ginned for Daniel, 256 lbs., toll 25 lbs.; Charlotte, 201 lbs., toll 20 lbs.; Bob, 230 lbs., toll 23 lbs.; Bill, 107 lbs., toll, 10.<sup>25</sup>

22. Pressed out 6 bales.

25. Received turkeys, geese and fowls from A. B. Allen, a present to Mary M. P.

Sales of cotton of '44 crop: 77 bales by Davenport, 2,862 lbs. at 6¾ cts. (gained 29 lbs.); 6 bales by Davenport, 2,491 lbs. at 6¾ cts. (gained 13 lbs.); 6 bales by J. A. Ruff, 2,523 lbs. at 5½ cts. (loss 27 lbs.); 35 bales by J. A. Ruff, 14,763 lbs. at 5½ cts. (gained 38 lbs.).

#### DECEMBER, 1844.

5. Planted some 10 days ago the following varieties of wheat with stakes and corresponding numbers, raised by R. Harmon, of Wheatland, N. Y.: No. 1, white flint (winter wheat, premium wheat); No. 2, Tuscany winter wheat; No. 3, Etrurian winter wheat; No. 4, Kloss' white blue stem.

13. Amy delivered of a girl this morn just before daylight.

14. Killed 6 hogs today, gross weight 1,409, net weight 1,080, loss 329.

17. Loaded tonight bales 48 to 53.

22. Loaded tonight bales 54 to 59. Gave out tonight blankets as follows: Jerome, Milly, 1; Peyton, Amy, 2; Cyrus, Nanny, Jack, 2; Jacob, Easter, 1; Eliza, 2; Edward, 1; Frank, 1; Patty, 1; Jane, 1.

28. Loaded tonight with 5 bales.

Memorandum: Pork killed Dec. 14, 1,080 lbs. net, Jan. 8, 3,283 lbs. net—4,363; from Gibbs, 1,030 lbs.; total amount, 5,393 lbs. This will make about 3,596 lbs. bacon, and added to amount left over from last season (756 lbs.) makes a total of 4,352 lbs. of bacon for 1844.

<sup>25</sup>These parties were slaves, and the cotton here referred to was raised by their independent efforts at odd times.

Crop of 1845 to plant: In cotton, E. field, 63 acres; burn field, 18 acres; south field, 15 acres; total, 96. In corn, new ground, 15 acres; west field, 50 acres; orchard, 16 acres; premium, 4 acres; total, 85. In millet, orchard, 4 acres. In potatoes, orchard, 2 acres. In artichokes, orchard, 1 acre. In rye, S. field and center, 7 acres.

### JANUARY, 1845.

7. We have to this date cut up and rolled logs in E. field, cut down the corn stalks in E. field, cut up logs in burn field, hauled out some 1,500 bushels of cotton seed and mauled fully 2,000 rails. Now mauling in woods pasture, cutting down cornstalks and hauling. We planted out after making a rich bed some 200 asparagus roots. Sowed 3 double rows of peas and replanted strawberry bed.

8. Killed 18 hogs today: Gross weight, 4,007; net, 3,283; loss, 724; loss of 17.8 per cwt.

11. Finished cutting up all logs in old ground today. Finished hauling out cotton seed and manure into lot where peaches are to be planted.

13. Employed Mr. Elisha Nail to oversee for us at the rate of two hundred and fifty dollars per year (\$250). He set in today.

20. We have now done the chopping, piling brush and part burnt off on 12½ acres of new ground immediately west of present W. field, say west of the line dividing W. and E. ½ of the N. W. ¼ of S. 14.

21. Today hauling rails south of south field, now adding it to orchard, also in cleaning up the land inside of burn field fence.

I grafted 10 apples, Siberian, in 2 farthest rows south border of garden, 103 peach trees in melon patch row next to fence, 104 nectarines, also in melon patch next to fence.

24. Knocking down cotton stalks today with women. Wagon hauling, 2 hands mauling and 2 putting up. Gin running.

25. Finished new fence on east end of E. field today. Yesterday plum trees were in bloom. This morn thermometer at 26°.

Grafted yesterday La Grange and Davis apples; today a variety of plums.

30. First lambs this morning, 2. Thermometer at 24°; coldest morn and heaviest frost this season.

FEBRUARY, 1845.

1. Five lambs, only 4 alive, one lost on the 30th. Finished rolling logs in old ground yesterday; today with 6 from Montgomery and 3 from Watson's (for work due me) rolling in new ground.

6. We have had 4 two-horse plows in E. field two days, viz.: began to plow on the 3d, on Monday, and plowed  $\frac{1}{2}$  day with 3 teams, rain then preventing; then 4 yesterday from noon; 4 again today and a one-horse after laying off, say all day. The account now stands thus: 3 for half a day, 4 do., 4 all day. Jacob 1 day laying off and 1 day flushing  $7\frac{1}{2}$  of 2 horses and 2 of 1 horse. 9 lambs now alive and 1 dead. From the storm on Monday night we had to cut and roll (20 heaps) in E. field on 4th, since then Jerome and hands have been burning and cleaning up in W. field and burn where we had cleaned up and fired everything. Hung up the last hams and shoulders on the 4th.

7. Planted today rather over  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of artichokes.

10. Five plows in orchard in front of house and did the following plowing: Jacob was until near 12 o'clock laying off lands, say on about 25 acres. The other plows with him broke out in apple orchard 264 yards by 114, 30,096 yards—6 2-10 acres. Jerome and his gang burning brush and logs in new ground.

12. Five two-horse plows did not quite finish in orchard enclosure. 17 lambs alive and 1 lost. Sowed peas again on the 8th; today planted onions and sowed seed.

14. Rain about 1 o'clock. 5 plows in E. field yesterday and today. Pressed today balance of W. G. W. crop, 5 bales—2330 with a remnant.

15. Twenty-four lambs alive, 1 dead. Finished in E. field today about 12 o'clock, say  $2\frac{1}{2}$  days. We now sum up:  $7\frac{1}{2}$  of 2-horse and 2 of 1-horse up to 6th; 10, 7th and 8th;  $11\frac{3}{4}$  ( $5+4\frac{1}{4}+2\frac{1}{2}$ ) 12th, 13th and 14th;  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , 15th— $31\frac{3}{4}$  days' work.

15. Hands knocking down stalks and scattering seed.

22. Solon Robinson, from Indiana, Lake C. H., here on a visit, arriving on the evening of the 20th.

MARCH, 1845.

16. I find on return from below that plows had commenced to bed up on the 13th.

18. Finished planting W. field and orchard in corn today at noon, having planted during my absence on the 8th and 15th, again on the 17th and 18th. All land now broken up except a small part of the new ground; about 65 acres of corn now planted and 20 acres of cotton ground with 3 furrows thrown up. Bedded sweet potatoes out on 27 Feb. Planted Irish potatoes on the 5th. Sowed radish second time on 17th; beans on 17th. 40 lambs alive on 16th and 5 dead.

25. We have now not over 5 acres to do to finish throwing up 3 furrows in all cotton ground. Sowed Latakia or Turkish tobacco received, and fine Havana received on the 18th. Rain on Saturday night, 22d, having had ice on Friday morn and frost for several mornings. Frost again today. Thermometer 34°.

28. Plow hands have bedded up cotton ground in orchard, burn field and nearly done E. field. Began to plant cotton west side of E. field today about 4 o'clock. Planted today lima beans, okra, squashes a week since, and watermelon seed.

31. Planted today seeds from Washington City (Patent Office): Spurry, globe savoy, multicole rye, Italian rye grass.

We have planted part of E. field 23 acres, burn field 18 and part of orchard field south of road, say 13 acres, 54 acres now planted about. Began on Friday, 28th.

#### APRIL, 1845.

5. During the past week have harrowed our corn and nearly done running through with cultivators between the rows. Corn not well up as yet. Planted another barrel of Irish potatoes on the 1st of April. We have now hauled out 125 loads of manure of two yoke into wet ground below lot, and 20 in orchard and garden. Been hauling manure out of pool for 8 days. 4 plows now cross plowing new ground. Replowed millet ground on the 1st. Planted cucumber seed soaked in saltpetre water and soot on the 4th. Sowed pepper seed today. Raining tonight very moderately and in time.

9. Upon examination of corn I thought it too uncertain to depend on getting a stand, and knowing so much depended on it I resolved to replant. So commenced yesterday and finished planting over W. field today, and planted part of new ground. Ridging

up one acre intending to plant in sweet potatoes. Planted potato squash on the 5th and 8th. Watermelons again on the 8th. We wet cotton seed of 4 kinds with manure water and salt and water, then rolled in ashes and slaked lime for planting, Mastodon, Lewis' Prolific, Guatemala and Nutt's. Frost yesterday and today. This morn thermometer at  $36^{\circ}$ , at 1 P. M. at  $74^{\circ}$ , at 6 P. M. at  $64^{\circ}$ , and at 9 P. M. at  $50^{\circ}$ .

10. Having prepared cotton seed yesterday noon as stated; we commenced planting in west lot, west side, and planted as follows: 16 rows of Mastodon seed the first rows next to fence, 16 rows Valparaiso seed, second row; 16 rows Lewis' Prolific, third row; 22 rows Nutt's seed, grown here; 30 rows west of fence in W. field of Lewis' seed. We then went to orchard, planted 25 rows of Mastodon next to road, say east side; 18 rows of Valapraiso; 18 rows of Lewis' Prolific; 14 rows of Nutt's. Balance of seed planted in E. field: Valparaiso 4 rows, Lewis', Nutt's.

12. Finished planting cotton yesterday. Began to work over corn by gin House and orchard today.

15. Finished working over corn in orchard today. We planted today 12 bushels of potatoes cut up, not enough to plant an acre.

16. Two hands in garden since 14th spreading manure and spading, three half of the day after rain yesterday planting out cabbage plants. We have now about 2,500 plants out. I failed in planting in proper time the marrowfat peas that I saved of the Washington sort until yesterday. Scraping cotton today.

18. Hail and rain on 16th, also rain on morn of 17th. Gathered a mess of peas this evening. Rain again in morning and no work until after dinner. We scraped west side of E. field on the 16th until rain, finished it yesterday and to burn field.

23. Hands have now scraped west side of E. field, burn field, orchard, lot, and began east  $\frac{1}{2}$  of E. field this morn. Cyrus harrowed over ground and sowed millet today, it has been plowed and harrowed twice each.

24. Planted my watermelon patch today with Gibbs' white melon seed that ripened last year the 7th of July.

28. Finished shearing today, 205 lbs. from 67 sheep, some having lost much,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  each. Finished scraping on Saturday, the

26th, about 9 to 10 o'clock. Two plows barring off and hoe hands working corn in W. field.

MAY, 1845.

3. Cut and marked 45 lambs yesterday, 3 bucks, 19 ewes and 23 wether lambs. 5th row from and west of potato bed was planted the day that the other was scraped, viz.: on the 22d. It having rained so much on the night of the 1st that no work was done in the farm yesterday. Cloudy 2d and 3d. Hands are this morning in corn in W. field; plows in corn in orchard, having begun to plow it on the 30th of April, breaking out whole row finishing, barring off in W. field that day. Edward and Peyton have not finished dirting cotton by one day's work; too wet. They ran around 45 rows each in E. field,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  rows an acre—21 miles per day not counting turnings. Those planted on the 15th ult. have been coming up for several days; have set out about 1-3 of an acre with sweet potatoes, enough plantings for  $\frac{1}{2}$  more.

6. I planted today a few hills of Northern corn, Smith's Early, as follows: 4 grains at 6 inches, 4 at  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , 4 at 5 and so on until 1 inch, omitting the  $1\frac{1}{2}$ .

7. Finished working over corn in W. field yesterday and then worked over the old corn in the orchard, having worked over a portion before finishing in W. field, it being too wet. Rained very hard Sunday night and part of Monday, 5th; too wet for anything. We plowed up a piece of land enclosing it from pasture in center field on the 5th and planted a portion in sweet potatoes. Commenced working over cotton this forenoon, 5 plows now breaking out and dirting, doing fine work.

9. Planted a few cotton seed in garden sent me by W. Good North, of Hinds. Began E. field second time yesterday. Plows in W. field corn.

12. Heavy rain on Saturday evening, the 10th. The experiment with corn, see 6th; 3 hills are up,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , 2 and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, this morning. Plows in W. field, after having plowed W. lot. Hoe and plow hands cleaned out cotton in W. lot, then to E. field. Set out tobacco plants today. Sowed one acre of buckwheat on the 9th. Cut rye on mornings of the 19th, 20th and 21st, it being too ripe to cut in heat of day.

24. Plow hands finished plowing over all cotton the second time on the 22d. Plowed orchard cotton third time yesterday and this morn, hoe hands not quite over. Mary Phillips returned from Brandon on the 20th. The crop is now in good order, corn very good, cotton very much injured by lice, I never saw it so much so.

29. All plows now plowing in W. field, having laid by the corn in the orchard and near gin. Cleaned out potatoes yesterday. Mr. Palmer now at work putting up west chimney prior to plastering. Mr. Dickson making bookcase and desk.

#### JUNE, 1845.

8. Returned from a visit to Yazoo and Holmes yesterday. Weaned off lambs and divided sheep today.

26. Peaches fully ripe today; a melon nearly so.

#### JULY, 1845.

9. I have now budded about 90 of the Elmira peach. We are just beginning cotton for the last plowing today. Corn has suffered more than I ever saw before for a drought of only 20 days. Thermometer at 87° today on piazza, has been to 90° this season and ranged generally 83° in morn to the highest, 90°. Sowed nearly 4 bushels of peas in buckwheat patch on 12th.

22. Began to pull fodder today, all except Cyrus, he cutting millet.

23. Five boys cutting out road to Boll's Ferry.

24. Thermometer at 93° on 21st, 95° on the 22d, 96 on the 23d.

25. Saturday, very dry. Hauled in 7 fine loads of choice fodder and 7 loads of millet hay.

27. Monday, hauled in one fine load of choice fodder and 2 loads of crab grass hay.

#### AUGUST, 1845.

25. Picked from experiment lots: Mastodon, 214 lbs.; Valparaiso, 206; Lewis, 331, and Nutt's, 470—1,221.

#### SEPTEMBER, 1845.

10. From experiment lots near gin: Valparaiso, 66 lbs.; Mastodon, 30 lbs.

22. Experiment lots near gin, produced at the following rate: Mastodon, 1,627, 43 per acre; Valparaiso, 1,514 per acre; Lewis, 1,544 per acre; P.'s, 1,493 lbs. per acre.

25. Threshing rye.

OCTOBER, 1845.

6. Weighed up today 428 lbs. of Mastodon seed cotton, ginned 102 lbs. clean cotton, 23.8 lbs. per cwt.

Weighed up 500 lbs. of Guatemala seed cotton, ginned out 140 lbs. of clean cotton, 28 lbs. per cwt.

Weighed up 473 lbs. Lewis' Prolific seed cotton, ginned out 144 lbs. of clean cotton, 30.4 lbs. per cwt.

I very much fear the portion weighed by Mr. Nail is not to be depended on for this reason, Lewis, according to field weights, should have yielded 652 lbs. of cotton, but in reality only 440 lbs., showing error in weights.

Frost on nights of 12th, 13th and 14th, on morn of 13th and 15th. Thermometer 34°.

15. Hauling corn to date  $32\frac{1}{2}$  loads.

18. Hauled corn to date, 54 loads (old corn house is 17.8x 12.10x10.2, and will hold top and all about 900 bushels). 40 loads out of old ground, say 50 acres, 1,800 bushels, or 36 bushels per acre.

20, 21 and 22. Digging and housing potatoes; some peas picked 20th and 22d.

23. Picking peas. Threshed out 60 bushels on 30th.

NOVEMBER, 1845.

22. Finished plowing and sowing lots to clover today. I have sowed the negro house lot of 10 acres with 1 bushel of red clover and hillsides with yellow clover, N. W. lot with near 3 pecks and N. E. with balance of the bushel, there being Bermuda there.

29. Thermometer 22° yesterday morn. Snow this morning. Thermometer at 28°. Sleet several times during the day. Thermometer yesterday at 32° all day. Thermometer at 30° nearly I may say all day, unless when below at 28°

DECEMBER, 1845.

2. Thermometer yesterday morn  $20^{\circ}$ , ranging up to  $28^{\circ}$ , this morn  $14^{\circ}$ . Freezing weather since Thursday, 27th.

5. We will kill hogs today. Killed 8—1,562 lbs. Weighed today the bacon: Middlings, 530 lbs., shoulders 226 lbs—756 lbs. bacon. Besides the pork and bacon we have 400 lbs. of beef and over 100 lbs. of pork for fresh eating.

9. Denton began to work on Wednesday, 11th.

19. Killed 16 pigs today, weighed 2,052 lbs.—3,614 lbs. of pork.

23. Tried experiment with cotton again today. Mastodon:  $32\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. seed cotton made  $22\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. clean cotton and 69 lbs. seed; (24.5 lbs. to the cwt.). Guatemala:  $92\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. seed cotton made  $28\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. clean cotton and 64 lbs. seed (30.8 lbs. to the cwt.). Lewis:  $72\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. seed cotton made  $29\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. clean cotton and 63 lbs. seed (31.7 to the cwt.).

31. Sent off today 2 sets of samples: Mastodon, priced at  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ; Guatemala,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to  $7\frac{3}{4}$ ; Lewis,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to  $7\frac{3}{4}$ .

CROP FOR 1846.

To cotton, W. field, 67 acres,  $40+12$  south end +15 new ground; orchard,  $41\frac{1}{2}$  acres,  $23+18+2$  (in millet lot) deduct nursery and melons and Irish potatoes  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres; burn, 20 acres. Corn, E. field, 40 acres, east of road; E. field, 6 acres, new ground and southwest of road; center field, 26 acres, hill sides about, but not quite. Potatoes (south of E. peach orchard), 3 acres; artichokes, 2 acres. Millet (south of potatoes), 3 acres. Besides which we have 20 acres in E. field in rye and oats, which I will plant in June corn.

I rate hands thus: Jerome, Peyton, Cyrus, Jacob, Edward, Jack, Amy, Kate, as hands, 8; Easter as 2-3; Nanny, Patty, Moses, and Paris, as  $\frac{1}{2}$  hands=2; Mary as 1-3; total, 11 hands, and do not regard them as more I would prefer ten hands equal to Jerome, Jacob, Jack and Amy considering their average as a full hand.

JANUARY, 1846.

3. Received from Downing, of New York, 150 peach trees yesterday, and from Hatch & Co., a lot of peach and pear trees. Putting out the latter today (11th) having 2 hands, and wrapped

all with straw. We have cut down undergrowth from 20 acres west of house, and have the hands now clearing a small piece south of E. field.

22. We have cut down, cut up and nearly rolled a lot of gums cut down in the new ground of W. field. Have righted fence in W. field from gate to lot, and from gate towards gin. We have cut up logs in W. field and orchard cut. Hanging meat tonight. We have cleared some 3 or 4 acres south of E. field and got nearly rails enough to do the entire place.

#### FEBRUARY, 1846.

2. Planted today 3 rows of peas and prepared a warm bed. I have planted out (31 of January and 2d) all the peach trees from Downing. We are now nearly done thrashing down stalks, all logs cut and rolled, except where fire was in W. field and W. lot.

13. I had laid down a hedge (osage orange) about 1,100 yards yesterday. I had Jacob and Cyrus to plow and cut up the rose (Cherokee), Amy to make hole, Mary to drop and Jane to plant. I used the subsoil plow on 880 yards, then bedded up, then harrowed down. On clean land I can lay down hedge with 3 hands and I to assist in cutting  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile per day. We are very much behind, having been engaged in fencing, clearing up a portion of center field, ditching, and I don't know what.

16. I sowed today cabbage, lettuce, radish, a few turnips, and tomato. Not even a plum in bloom, the multicaulus or anything else out. A few white hyacinths, jonquils are out, a few blue hyacinths will soon be out.

21. Even more unfavorable this week than the past, heavy frost every morning, with a freeze and not thawing until late. I did not note Thermometer. No blooms about orchard. I saw on the 18th maple blooms. Rain every day or two. Not a plow in motion, too wet. Busy hauling rails, resetting fence, and cleaning up center field. We have now an excellent fence from spring field south to corner, thence to southeast corner of E. field, thence round to corner of orchard at big gate. We have enough rails.

23. Bought from Mr. Samuel Frisby at ferry his little bunch of hogs that have been running here, for \$35, payable 1st of January —10 hogs and 6 pigs.

26. Finished apple orchard today, have now about 575 trees. Sowed today sugar loaf and Duru head cabbage, lettuce and radish. *Peas up finely.* We started 2 plows on Monday, but had to return Mr. Moss work for blacksmith, only plowed that day and again yesterday, Wednesday and today, two more, breaking up land for millet today. Jacob has now laid off rows in 12 acres of orchard and about 20 of hill sides. Nearly done fencing, a few hours work and outside fence will be good. Hauling cotton seed and scattering. First plum bloom on the 22d; peach bloom on 24th. Thermometer at midday on the 24th  $70^{\circ}$ ; this morning at 7 o'clock at  $30^{\circ}$ . A pretty day, clearing off finely. Geese laying for a few days., 9 eggs.

### MARCH, 1846.

2. Bedded out about 14 bushels of sweet potatoes, all we had—our potatoes having nearly all rotted (in a house), thus far house is bad, may be it was too close. We have set two sets of gate posts; opening in orchard. The posts to which gates are hung are placed butts down, the others with tops down. We will place two other sets in E. field thus to show which way is best to plant posts. Have now hauled seed on 18 acres, manured in the dirt, about 125 bushels per acre. We will see the result on the crop.

6. Planted Irish potatoes today  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet apart—as I usually plant with leaves. I plant of *my own raising the first row.* Grafting today.

11. Sowed 40 lbs. of lucerne on 3 acres of land; plowed, harrowed and sowed, but rain followed too soon to harrow in. We may now say the spring is upon us; for within but a few days everything bears the signet that this pleasant season is here; multicaulus leaf as large as half dollar. In full to date 35 loads of manure in garden and 45 loads in field. Sowed yesterday, radish, beets, parsnips, onions, cabbage seed from Alabama. Nearly done laying off E. field for corn, bedded up all south of orchard in hilly land.

12. Sowed bluegrass in N. W. lot, timothy and orchard grass in negro house lot. We plowed and cross plowed the small piece of new ground at E. field; Jerome and his gang raking up leaves.

16. Hauled into E. field 26 loads of leaves and 5 in Irish pota-

toes, say 3,100 bushels. I have hauled on to 1 acre east of road in E. field 8 loads of leaves to test the value it requires say 6 hands to rake up and haul and scatter 10 loads per day, with 4 mules, estimate hands at 40 cents and mules at 25 cents, equal to, say, 35 cents per load, or \$2.80 per acre. If  $\frac{1}{2}$  of value be consumed by first crop then I should make 3 bushels more. We will see. I planted on Saturday, 14th, pole and bush beans, lima beans, okra, and squash; today, cucumber, celery, egg plant and tomato. Two horse plows flushing the grass land by gin where millet was, only one plow in E. field.

17. Three now in E. field, having finished the millet ground of last year. We start all plows tomorrow if not raining. 12 more loads of leaves, say, 4,300 bushels of leaves in full. Transplanted 450 cabbage plants this evening.

22. I planted on the 6th one bushel of rye. What will it make?

Planted on Friday and Saturday, 20 and 21, east side of E. field and the south end of west side. Replowing hill sides before planting. 1,500 cabbage plants now transplanted. Planted pepper, melon, radish and squash on the 20th.

27. Finished setting out cabbage plants on 24th, about 3,500 out. Thermometer at noon  $41^{\circ}$  on the 25th,  $42^{\circ}$  on 26th, and under  $40^{\circ}$  this morning, *slight frost*. We planted corn on hillsides in south field on the 25th and 26th. We planted over 1 acre of pindars on the 24th and 25th, rows 4 feet, seed dropped 1 foot in drill, land bedded up, then reversed, then harrowed, opened and covered with hoes. *This piece of corn all planted thus, except covering.*

#### APRIL, 1846.

3. Finished shearing today and only got 274 lbs. of wool, burrs, dirt and all, from 95 head, although 3 fleeces accidentally weighed gave 10, 8 and 5 lbs. each. We have planted the last year's new ground in W. field to cotton yesterday afternoon and today, mostly with *Lewis' Prolific seed*. Sold McInnis & Scott 228 bushels of corn, received \$25 on it. Sold to Major Trezevant 140 bushels at 50 cents, not delivered yet.

6. Delivered to Mr. Trezevant's wagon 36 barrels of corn. Jacob ran off 63 rows across W. field today 5 feet distance, setting stakes, and 6. plows bedded it up.

10. Planting W. field yesterday with one set of hands, today with two sets. Jack opened 81 rows across the field—over 12 acres. Planted Lewis' Prolific seed in west side of new gin to a stake marked 1. My seed from Nutt's planted to stake No. 2. Guatemala planted to stake No. 3. Did not finish on account of rain. Planted yesterday near or about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre of melons.

15. Hauling manure yesterday and today, too wet to plow (26 loads). Peas on Extra Early, and the first bloom on Blue Imperial.

17. 5 plows, with Jerome and his gang in E. field corn, began today. I am plowing with bull tongues next to corn, shovels next, and the subsoil plow in water furrow, putting to about a 21 inch stand.

20. Cotton seed experiment with Judge Noland's and Mastodon. I am now planting cotton seed, two acres of Mastodon southwest orchard commencing at the road, 27 rows with seed rolled in stable manure steeped in boiling brine, and 27 rows with no steep next to gin. I then sow 10 rows of Judge Noland's seed rotted in *the steep*, and west of this 10 more not rolled, west of road and next to melon patch. I here record my interest and my impression as to what I expect to be the result. I intend to plant an acre each in the same way, this day week or 10 days, so as to ascertain the difference in maturing and the yield, believing that the steeped seed will be as early and better cotton than that sowed 10 days ago, that this will exceed that adjoining by 1 to 2 cwt., that the seed sown, say 27 to 30, will not be 3 days behind in the maturing, and the difference in yield will be small, at least that the steeped seed of the late planting (rather late, I admit), will equal the crop of that not steeped. If I prove to be correct, thus can the planting interest save at least 10 days for better preparing land or manuring, etc. We will see, but I regret not making 3 experiments, say the first on the 10th.

23. Eliza delivered of a boy this forenoon, Thursday. *We name him Nail.* Cloudy for several days, with repeated showers—earth too wet to plow or hoe. A fine mess of strawberries yesterday for 7. Sent Morrison (by his wagon) the last of 9 thousand shingles today. Planting today a row each side of road in melons.

24. Rain again tonight, too wet for plows all week. All hands in corn today, slow, very slow.

25. Very wet, nothing doing in the farm.

27. Although it was clear and fine weather yesterday—Sunday—yet it rained most all night and is today close, hot and threatening rain, with light mist and thunder. Certainly more unfavorable than I ever saw. I have yet 40 acres, orchard, to plant to cotton, have not scraped any, nor yet done working corn. I suppose if no rain to hinder much, that I will finish E. side of E. field today, began 10 days ago, but too wet to do much, and no prospect of plowing it soon. Planted corn from Penn. on Saturday, 25th, in the missing places in the Irish potato patch; also part of an acre of early corn from the north in the first row.

MAY, 1846.

3. Sunday. Since the hail on Wednesday there has been quite cool weather, making the season quite unfavorable. Clouding up and threatening rain every day. *River very high.* We rolled about 10 bushels of seed yesterday for planting tomorrow—and can time the experiment as noted under date of 20th, planting Mastodon not rolled in 3d lot of 27 rows and the rolled seed in the balance of the cut south of road going to gin. Noland's 2d planting done in old orchard on the 9th. Squashes, etc. Planted melons in pindar patch on the 30th April. Potato squash on corn near by, pumpkins in rich hollows, and Valparaiso in Do.

6. Planted cotton on Monday, but owing to rain could do nothing the two past days, raining all Tuesday; cleared off today, scraping. Brought home Susan today, cost \$475.

10. *We finished planting cotton* yesterday evening, though roughly done. Jerome has about 2 days' work yet in W. field. We sowed millet yesterday, though not quite done harrowing it in. Cool, clear and fine weather.

14. First beans on the 13th, squashes and musk melons in bloom.

24. I received Cassaba seeds from Dr. Joseph Johnston, of Charleston, S. C., and planted same day (yesterday) in W. field near by the gum tree. Cotton looks fine, a few lice, but growing too fast to be injured; the plant is now about putting out limbs; with leaves about 3 inches across.

30. We have now scraped all cotton—the small piece below lucerne being such a bad stand that I concluded not to work it—bad stand in all the north part of orchard. We have replanted all the south part—18 acres—and the N. E. part, as also a part of the N. W., and will replant the balance on Monday. I have now scraped, say, 62, in W. field, 20 in burn, 42 in orchard, and near 2 below garden, say, in all, 125 acres. We have earthed with plow 62, 20 and 20 in orchard; we have hoed 2d time 62 and 4 in orchard. There are squares in Noland's cotton—see April 20.

JUNE, 1846.

1. I began to measure corn up, that is in W. corn house: 75 barrels in shuck, say 85 bushels; 6 barrels shucked, 9 bushels; 16 barrels crushed, 18 bushels=112 bushels. Corn needed for 7 mules until Aug. (60 days), 120 bushels; bread until Sept., 80 bushels; scattered corn to hogs 50 bushels; total amount, 250 bushels.

2. A few tassels in sight today, one was out on Sunday, May 31st, just 70 days from planting. Planted the Peruvian corn and some raised from Roger's seed in the pindar patch. The object is to effect a cross, just to see. Sent plow hands this morning to plow new ground cotton, but too wet, and they say too windy (?) and grassy to plow at that.

3. Everything in the grass and grass is everywhere. Cotton looks well for all it is in bad condition.

4. Commenced sowing peas today 3 bushels to 10 acres, covered with cultivator; we ought to run twice in a row, but too much before us.

5. Rain nearly all night last night, showers yesterday; raining now. Too wet for anything. Awful, awful. Cyrus cutting rye, it being too wet to sow peas. Hoe hands made a beginning in burn field late this evening; cotton looks well, not very foul.

8. Peas now sown in all the corn, and all laid by. Saw several stalks of cotton today from 15 to 18 inches high.

9. Finished burn field today about 5 o'clock, then into W. field. 5 plows in W. field. The grassiest field I ever saw, all over.

10. Six plows now in burn field, turning plows at that, and then not an entire cover of grass, but the only possible plan.

11. All hands as yesterday. Hard rain about 6 o'clock.
12. Rain again today, water lying in furrows, but plows must run. All hands as yesterday, plows nearly done; hoe hands nearly done new ground. I have now budded some 100 peach trees.
15. Plows in orchard. Hoes in W. field, very slow. John's mule is sick, don't know cause, not eating last night or today; just because I had written an article for Allen on my treatment.
17. First bloom seen by me today; negroes saw some yesterday.
22. Planted the new ground corn in E. field for the 4th time on the 19th.
25. Hoe hands have finished about the south part of orchard beginning below gin on Wednesday, 24th. 2 plows with cultivators are running through apple orchard.
26. Harrows have finished cotton (hoes have done about 10 to 11 acres). Elmira and some little white free stone peaches ripe. Cyrus in new ground running round cotton.
29. Six plows in the forenoon plowing in W. field, 4 in new ground in the evening, 4 mules and 3 hands hauling up rye, 3 loads. Hoe hands gathered rye together in forenoon. In the evening hoes in old orchard cut. Early York ripe today. A seedling free stone, first row, 4th tree, in old orchard, ripe.

#### JULY, 1846.

1. Jerome finished cotton 2d time today. Cleaned out potatoes. Now cleaning pindars. All plows in W. field; 4 plows not done new ground; 2 plows in old ground. Very dry; corn suffering badly.
7. The planting of May the 4th and 5th has blooms, red and falling off, thus it must have bloomed say the 4th and 5th, thus it is *in bloom in 60 days from planting*. It is the manured part.
9. A fine rain this afternoon, much good will it do—enough for cotton, but not enough to plant out potatoes and, of course, not enough for corn.
10. Received specimens tonight from Hatch's of: Green gage plum (5 inches in circum.); Blue Imperial plum, apple, yellow rareripe peach (not fine, but not a fair specimen); Samuen (?) rose apple, Maiden's Blush, Red Juneating.
12. Sunday, 1 P. M., and raining very prettily. *All alone.*

13. Rained twice today; earth very wet. All hands cleaning out garden. Planted out sweet potato drawings this afternoon.
14. More rain again. Hands clearing a turnip patch.
16. Rain, rain, yesterday and today. The swamp is now quite full of water. Yesterday and today cleaned up 2 acres for turnips. First pigs today, though birds found them first.
18. Rain yesterday; clear today. All hands hoeing in young orchard part of yesterday and today.
31. Received by Lee Hatch tonight: Barrington (beautiful yellowish white, 8 inches); Blanche (rich white, stone brown, and smooth, 7 inches); Skinner's Superb (yellow); Brown Cling (flesh greenish white); Black; Buist's yellow. Returned from examination in Clinton today. Hauled up now 6 loads of fodder—one load counted 850 *bundles*. Eliza sick all week, as I was away; Easter and Moses came in sick—not much the matter with any, except Easter's *pains*.

## AUGUST, 1846.

1. Easter gave birth between 12 and 1 o'clock this morning to a negro boy.
3. Conclude on quitting fodder pulling, now hauled up 8 loads.
6. Sowed 2 acres of turnips.
16. More sickness than for years, although, happily, as yet, none with field hands, except Nanny; she has had two attacks; Moses lost a part of one day and Mary a *piece of Sunday*. The sickness with Milly, Eliza and children.
18. Hands cleaned out stables and raked up lane, hauling for table turnip patch. We plow and plant tomorrow if possible.
28. Began to pick cotton this evening with Jerome and women, etc.

## SEPTEMBER, 1846.

9. Gathered today  $3\frac{1}{2}$  loads of corn.
14. Shearing today. Army worms have entirely eaten up all leaves, small bowls, squares, blooms, etc. The injury done is at least cutting off half the prospective crop.
17. Awful hot. Sheared in all to date 105 sheep.
21. I had the misfortune to lose Easter's boy on the night of the 21st.

24. Weighed this year's 2 clips of wool (103 head) spring clip, 250 lbs. burrs and all; (95 head) fall clip, 207 lbs. If I get 400 lbs. of wool, free from burrs, it will be 4 lbs. per head, a very excellent yield, considering the large majority of ewes and many lambs.

26. Ate today a seedling apple from Selsus. It had been here near 3 weeks and had shrivelled, being pulled too soon. The fruit was about 3 inches in diameter, roundish but flat and compressed, calyx small in a moderately deep basin, stalk slender, short, and set moderately shallow; skin yellow, richly streaked with red, quite bright on sunny side, with dark splotches and black spots in small patches; flesh yellow, firm, rich and dry, musky and well perfumed. On the whole, a good fruit, and worthy the name of "Spencer." This fruit has much the shape of "Lady Apple," but not so flat, nor is the stem and calyx so deep—probably more like "Maiden's Blush" or "Summer Rose," but well worthy of cultivation.

#### OCTOBER, 1846.

7. Ginned last week and pressed today 6 bales—2,528 lbs., leaving a remnant.

9. Amy gave birth to a negro "gall baby" this morning about 2 o'clock.

23. Pressed one of Watson's bales tonight, 410, with 75 lbs. of my cotton, leaving 335.

27. Pressed 8 bales, 3,374 lbs.

30. Pressed 10 bales, 4,167 lbs.

31. Hauled in today about 240 bushels of corn, prior to this about 200 bushels. Measured a wagon load (not quite full, we supposed before measuring that the wagon would hold 10 barrels more) of corn and it measured  $35\frac{1}{2}$  barrels, or 40 bushels. 11 rows were in the load, or equal to 35-8 bushels per row,  $8\frac{1}{4}$  rows = 30 per acre.

#### NOVEMBER, 1846.

9. We have now hauled in 5 loads on 31st, 6 another day, 7 again, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  today, with some below garden scarcely worth hauling, making  $20\frac{1}{2}$  loads, say 40 bushels each load = 820 bush-

els. A bad turn out and bad, very, very bad management to have planted so little. I'll learn better. About 60 acres yielded not over 1,000 bushels, all told.

18. Weighed today 6 bales of Watson's cotton; weighed of my own cotton, including two toll bales, 9,443 lbs.

#### DECEMBER, 1846.

5. Pressed today 3,341 lbs.

17. Killed 12 hogs today, weighing 2,051 lbs.

#### JANUARY, 1847.

2. Killed 15 hogs today, weighing 2,091 lbs.; in full, 4,142 lbs.

15. Absent the entire month with all hands at Dr. Kells'.

#### FEBRUARY, 1847.

No work done on the farm before the 15th, except cutting up logs and beating down stalks. Returned with all hands from Dr. Kells' on 13th of the month.

15. Began to work in garden today, and have planted or sowed today radish, lettuce, Early York and Large York cabbage, parsley, peas of 3 kinds, turnips, beets and parsnips.

16. Sowed onions and planted out sets. Not able to plant my Egyptian oats before today—have now planted about 4 acres, with 7½ bushels of the Egyptian and some of the common on the thinner points. 5 plows running.

16. We plowed, 5 plows on the 15th and 16th, rain that night, 6 plows again on Wednesday; 4 acres sowed and harrowed in on 15th and 16th.

21. Rolled logs in E. field entire, orchard and a few in W. field, about 120 acres. Saw one peach bloom east of house in hedge row on the 17th, plum blooms on the 19th and 20th. The season is exceedingly unfavorable, earth too wet to walk on, creek out of its banks. Montgomery's levee broken. Gipsey, 8 pigs about 1 week old. I have grafted on roots, De Angoulame, Bartlett pears, about 120; Early Tillotson, 24; Early Sweet Water, 48; Astor, 50; from D. & Astor, 35; Acton Scott, 51 from Lambut; about 206 on roots. Began on the 15th at night; last night I grafted 85.

MARCH, 1847.

1. Bedded out sweet potatoes this day.
2. Planted Irish potatoes this day.
7. Up to this date we have plowed the 25 acres W. of road in E. field, and the north ends of orchards with a little on the south end next to E. field. We have logs all rolled and fencing in pretty fair order, some ditching done in the pear orchard. A few peach trees out, a few plums, one apricot out on the 4th. Oaks show somewhat swollen buds, but little appearance of spring.
14. Employed Mr. Jackson on the 9th to oversee until December 15, at \$200. He began on Thursday morning, the 11th. But few of the improved peaches out, and many seedlings are not yet in bloom, forest trees show somewhat the genial influence of spring, but really very slight. Red bud out some days ago, say March 1st, and dogwood out about 6 days. Thermometer at 6 o'clock this morning  $30^{\circ}$ , though the clock is slow, sun being up. I have been planting out an orchard for Dr. Kells the past week and nearly done.
19. Began to plant corn in apple orchard and continued through week in old peach orchard, Thursday, with 2 sets of hands, planted about 15 to 17 acres. Putting out grafts today.
22. Planting out pear trees today, over 1,400 grafts now out, and now busy on the pear grafts.
28. Finished planting corn on Friday, the 26th, at noon, after which all plows went to W. field, now about 35 acres bedded up. On Friday morning (26),  $38^{\circ}$ ; Saturday,  $30^{\circ}$ ; Sunday,  $48^{\circ}$ . More sickness since January than since I have been farming. Jane has been sick near 2 weeks, *her first spell*; Cyrus down now, his first medicine since I have owned him.

APRIL, 1847.

6. No rain since the 25th ult.; now quite dry, woods quite green. Bees swarmed today. Corn that was planted on 19th ult. is coming up where not so awful hard. Cherries in orchard in bloom, the one in front yard has been for 3 days.
8. Planted a few seeds of the Cassaba melon this evening.

18. Sheared sheep 15, 16 and 17—80 head sheared, 185 lbs. of wool. One died and 1 killed, 78 head.

22. Planting orchards south of road, the "Sugar Loaf" seed rolled; and Pettit Gulf seed. Hoe hands will finish corn today.

23. Planted today the seed sent me by Col. Vick, beginning next to pindars: No. 1, the 100 seed "Lintonia" variety; No. 2, the 100 seed, "Diamond;" No. 3, the 100 seed, original stock; No. 4, seed taken at random from several hundred lbs. Sub Nigri, original stock, small Diamond and others; No. 5, "Belle Creole"; No. 6, not a distinct variety, but inclining to silk; No. 7, 8 locks of the small diamond, very valuable; No. 8, "Sub Nigri."

23. The foregoing seed are planted about 2 feet apart, 1, 2 or 3 seed in a hill, in the part of a row that the pindars are in and the row west of it. The next 4 rows and the remainder of the 2d row above are in Col. Vick's \$10 seed. The circles around hill east of east orchard are in Mastodon: No. 1 corresponds to No. 4 on other side; No. 2 to No. 5; No. 3 to No. 6; No. 4 to No. 7; No. 5, Sea Island (sold at 80 cents in Charleston, S. C., crop of '45); No. 6, Sea Island (sold at 65 to 70 cents); No. 7, Sea Island (sold at 30 cents); No. 8, at 11 to 13 cents, Sea Island crop of '46.

27. 2 plows and the small shot gang now scraping, or *sorter scraping* since Thursday evening, say about 5 acres done a day.

#### MAY, 1847.

1. We have now planted all garden to cabbages.

20. All hands in corn.

21. Now raining at half-past 10 A. M. Thermometer 63° and fallen 3° in about 15 minutes. I dug Irish potatoes on 15th larger than a hen's egg. Beans today.

28. Thermometer at 83° at 12 M., and fell 6° in one-half hour.

31. We had corn tassels in sight on the 29th.

#### JUNE, 1847.

2. My wedding day. To others, may it return often, often and be hailed with real pleasure. To myself, life is a heavy load—I care to see no return.

3. Mr. R. L. Allen left today, being here on a visit, arriving with Mr. J. A. Ruff on 31st May.

10. Finished sowing peas in corn yesterday. Mr. Jackson saw cotton blooms on the 16th, one had dropped off on 17th. Bloom on sugar loaf on 16th, planted on 22d April.

22. 2 hands cutting oats yesterday and today. I look for Mrs. P. home today.

26. Roasting ears for several days. Got ripe fruit of following varieties in Vicksburg on June 25: Early Catherine pear; Bloodgood's pear, Jargonelle pear; Early Harvest apple; Bevan apple; Elmira peach; Red June apple (on the 28th); Early York peach.

### JULY, 1847.

1. I ate on the 30th of June a part of a red June apple off the 3d tree of the 10th row, gathered on 28th. Skin bright red, flesh white and very mellow. Probably Red Astracan (?).

15. Jerome, Peyton, Jacob and Jack were on 13th and 14th getting rails; Jacob was away in afternoon of 14th, but Edward was in his place; ought to be 1,000 rails. Cotton in W. field is now in places about as high as my shoulder, will average, except the hillsides, about up to my arm; the cotton in orchard varies, *the sugar loaf* is about as high as my hip joint, does not promise very fine; the seed from Natchez is larger and thriftier; the "100 seed" is smallest and fewest forms. Corn is not good, the flint corn in E. field is *badly burnt*, the other was laid by grassy; the orchard is about the best corn. Sold to Mr. C. Vinton in Vicksburg 10 old sheep at \$3 and \$5, young at \$1.50—\$37.50. Eliza's mulatto child by Elisha Nail died on 27th July.

### SEPTEMBER, 1847.

1. Easter gave birth to a boy negro baby on Wednesday morning, September 1st. We have had the children and old women in the cotton field picking.

11. Sowed all the oats I had, say 20 bushels, on 10 acres in burn field.

30. I picked the lot of cotton that is produce of Vick's seed (see April 23), and the yield and picking qualities are as follows: No. 1, hard to pick, more so than any, bowls large, stalk long,

productive; No. 2, most productive, stalks generally yielding well (one of them had 49 open bolls and 49 not open, picks easily, more so than any); No. 3, irregular in yield and picking qualities; No. 5, almost as hard to pick as No. 1, yield pretty good; No. 4, easy to pick, more so than any save 2 and 7, yield not good; No. 6, not much difference in picking to No. 1, yield about 1-2 to 2-3 as much as No. 2; No. 7, some stalks yielding most, say 53 and 53, while others are not open well, and others not much on, on the whole not quite so good as No. 2, and next easiest to pick. The above judgment was formed without having examined the names or the notes furnished me by Col. Vick. I would without weighing and testing absolute yield and quality of staple prizes No. 2, 7, 5, 1, 4 and 6. No. 8 not picked.

## OCTOBER, 1847.

- 10. Stock account: 18 shoats in lot, 10 sows, 1 gilt, 3 barrows and 1 boar, 47 head of sheep.
- 23. Pressed 12 bales of cotton, 5,154 lbs.
- 24. Stock account: 18 shoats, 10 sows, 1 gilt, 4 barrows, 1 boar, 14 pigs, 5 gilts in negro house lot with Smith sow and 12 pigs; 45 head of sheep.

## NOVEMBER, 1847.

- 2. Began to haul corn on Monday, 1st of November, from west side of E. field—8 loads.
- 3. Hauled today 2 loads of corn from Mr. Montgomery's—a present. Tried a new gin stand today, E. Carver and Co. Sent Jack, Amy, Edward, Jane, Eliza, and Nanny this morning to pick for A. K. Montgomery, he to pick same weight in return.
- 4. Hauled corn in today, making 11 loads in all.
- 5. Pressed with 3 hands, 15 bales—6,560 lbs.
- 6. Hauled in today  $3\frac{1}{2}$  loads of corn—measured wagon body—53 bushels.
- 9. Pressed 8 bales today. Sent yesterday 7 hands to pick cotton for Mr. W. M., returned in rain today.
- 12. I have hauled to date 29 good loads of corn.
- 15. Pressed 8 bales today.
- 18. Picking peas at Montgomery's. Experiment with cotton:

Vick's cotton, 220 lbs. to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  rows, give 385 lbs. of picked cotton per acre, say 1,320 lbs. per acre of seed cotton; 1,320 lbs. of sugar loaf would give 398 lbs. of clean cotton; 1,320 lbs. of Vick's would give 385 lbs. Pressed today 9 bales, 3,964 lbs.

22. Pressed 4 bales, 1,778 lbs.

23. Finished hauling in corn Tuesday; hauled about 2 good loads, say, 31 loads in all. The 31 loads contained about 1,550, with 100 bushels from Mr. M. East corn crib has, say, 860 bushels, and W. corn crib has about 700 bushels.

24. 57 bales weighing 25,049 lbs. sent to W. V. D.

#### DECEMBER, 1847.

6. Hauled into garden on 3d and 4th, 29 loads of manure from lot and stable. We have been preparing a strawberry bed, and a hot bed, and are now at an asparagus bed. Employed Mr. Davis to stay with me until I return from Alabama, say for a month, at \$20. Crop of 1847, deducting toll from A. K. M. of 430 lbs. which was used for mattresses: 57 bales, weighing 25,049 lbs.; 19 bales, weighing 8,166 lbs.; total, 76 bales, weighing 33,215; equal to 83 bales and 115 lbs. of 400 lbs. each—80 acres planted.

#### JANUARY, 1848.

16. Returned home from visiting my mother and sister in Alabama on the 16th Jan., Sunday night.

23. Stock account, Sunday night: Sheep—2 rams, 1 wether, 41 ewes=44. Hogs: 5 sows, 1 boar, 14 shoats, 48 pigs (10 of the wild ones)=78. Yard stock: 1 sow and 7 pigs and 4 gilts=12.

30. Baled up 14 bales yesterday, being ginned in  $5\frac{1}{4}$  days. We have cut up all logs, threshed down 2-3 of stalks, put up fence on the ditch bank west of orchard, hauled out cotton seed on 8 or 9 acres. We have made a ditch on the north, east and south of east field, 7-8 of a mile; on the east end of S. east orchard, south and west of orchard, say 5-8 of a mile, and about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile around negro house lot, say 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

#### FEBRUARY, 1848.

6. Sheep: As before, and 7 lambs. Hogs: 12 more pigs, mak-

ing 77 pigs in all. We have now put up straight fence from north line of pear orchard up by gin east to corner of orchard (hedge), south to gate and east to E. field gate, and all the ditching has the rose planted on its bank.

9. Rolled logs today in W. field, with all hands, and 2 of Alex. M.'s.

10. Planted 1 barrel of Irish potatoes on east side of S. W. orchard,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  rows.

11. Rolled logs again today, finishing W. field and nearly one-half done in north field (north of lots). Had 2 hands from A. K. M., 2 from W. M., and 1 from S. W. M. I have grafted some plums, pears and apples, still going on.

12. We have planted out about 400 cabbage plants.

13. Cyrus counts this day 82 pigs—may be so. Sown 2 bushels of oats on about 1 acre where hog house was in center field. Pressed out A. K. Montgomery's cotton a week ago=3,731 lbs.; my bales=8,166 lbs.

18. We finished rolling logs in new ground north of stake and in burn field. We sowed cabbage, Early York, beets, onions, parsnips, radish and lettuce on the 16th. Planted Henry's pear trees on 16th. Apricot bloom on Thursday, 17th, in avenue, but in poultry lot on 15th.

22. Peach blooms full two weeks, Chickasaw plums also.

29. Began to plant corn on yesterday (Monday). 8 plows at it, as we plant in cotton land, we lay off, drop, cover and break out as we go.

### MARCH, 1848.

2. Planted corn yesterday as before, and have now about 35 acres planted.

4. Rolled logs yesterday afternoon and today west of W. field. Hogs: 71 pigs, 2 wild pigs died this week. The past week has been mostly unfit for plowing and planting, although the trees show advanced season. Quince blooms on 29 Feb.

11. Bedded 9 bushels of potatoes yesterday (Saturday, 11th). Flushed hill sides of W. field. Now breaking up the part of E. field designed for cotton.

15. Sowed 20 bushels of oats upon 14 acres of land in E. field 13th. A hand can sow on level land 14 acres per day and sow 2

bushels per acre. And harrow 10 acres per day if long rows and a good team.

19. Planted 17 rows of pindars on Saturday, 18th; 3 pecks with hulls, shells only one. Planted melons on Saturday, 18th.

29. Wednesday. Corn must be planted over, planted too deep. We are now bedding up burn field for cotton, began today, and will finish by 12 o'clock tomorrow; 6 plows.

30. Began to plant burn field to sugar loaf seed on Thursday afternoon, the 30th; 2 plows opened the whole by noon of Friday and covered with hoes before Saturday noon.

31. Planted yellow corn, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres, on 31st in W field. Land prepared by plowing with 2 horses and subsoiling with two, previously having spread over it 180 bushels of (cotton) seed. After plowing there was scattered over it about 100 bushels more, then plowed again, after which I hauled out 12 loads of scrapings of yard, but it was mostly put on the cold, wet part on north end, and could not be of much utility. I then soaked corn in saltpetre brine, 1 lb. to 6 quarts of water, for say 6 days, and planted it in rows running north and south, two rows one foot apart then 5 feet and 2 more rows, intending when in roasting ear to plant 2 more rows between, so as to try.

31. Peas this day.

APRIL, 1848.

7. Planted today 3 bushels of Vick's "100 seed" in pear orchard; balance of land is planted in sugar loaf by mistake, but we will endeavor to destroy them and plant to Vick's seed of my own growth.

8. Planted 4 acres S. E. orchard to my growing of Vick's seed, covered with hoes. Planted the piece in E. F. and in corner of ditches S. and E. of them to seed of 2 years old of my "stock seed," they being of my burn field raising, principally Dunlap stock. I have now 70 to 75 acres planted, though not quite done the above.

12. Saw several beans (pole) on a vine that grew in hot bed. Planted about  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre in melons today in S. W. orchard; planted today all fancy cotton seed: No. 1, Hogan; No. 2, Ranche Ralemal; No. 3, Florida seed, from Allen Barnes through A. B. Bacon; No. 4, Sea Island from Miss. City by Talbot; No. 5, Acci-

dental, found when ginning, 6 seed between 1 and 2 and peach; No. 6, Guatemala; No. 7, "Brown" seed, A. B. Bacon; No. 8, Tarver seed, Alabama; sugar loaf in adjoining row; No. 9, seed had on hand 3 years from Ruff, being Pettit Gulph, between 3 and 4 peach rows; No. 10, Vick's No. 2, being 4 bolls of it that grew in a bunch; No. 11, Vick's No. 8, 4 rows between 5 and 6 peach row; No. 12, Vick's No. 7, row between 10 and 11 peach rows; No. 13, Vick's No. 5, 5 rows between 12 and 13 peach rows; No. 14, Vick's No. 2, 14 and 15 rows; No. 15, Vick's No. 1, 5 rows between 15 and 17 rows; No. 16, Royal Gulph from Alabama, from 18 row west 36 rows.

Finished bedding up for cotton tonight, Wednesday.

14. Planting N. W. orchard to the 2-year-old seed "Stock Seed." Planted a part of apple orchard west side to Vick "100 seed," the balance in "Pettit Gulph" seed, and finished Saturday.

17. Began to work over corn this day. The flint corn planted on hillside on 13th and 14th of March was worked over a week ago. Turned house hogs into negro lot on 8th inst.

21. Began to scrape burn field at 11 o'clock on Monday, 17th, as there was not half a stand of corn; finished scraping burn field on Wednesday.

22. Rained just enough to stop work until about 8 o'clock. We then went to planting corn; I presume a hand can now open in a day and a half. We gathered on the 14th and 15th some 8 to 10 pints of strawberries.

29. Began to plant new ground on Friday, 27th, only having run a few furrows the day before, but the ground was so hard and so rough I concluded to plow as well as possible before planting. We had 8 plows until midday, but not much done, 5 plows since. Too dry for cotton to vegetate except in places, a bad stand on all planted since the 6th of April. More the result of idleness in Jerome, as the earth was wet enough on the 6th, but I did not know it was so badly covered until 10 days after.

#### MAY, 1848.

1. Planted today (Monday) about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an acre of corn sent to me by A. B. Allen, of N. Y., in 3 feet drills. Scraped today all lots of cotton in S. W. orchard, and done about 3 acres in the S. E.

orchard, not beginning until 10 o'clock. Four plows only in new ground today. Amy being sick (measles). I guess we will finish breaking up tomorrow with shovels.

4. Planted today seeds from patent office: Adams Early White Corn; autumnal squash, for autumn and fall; early Mazagan beans; lima squash, for winter; extra early white squash.

6. We have nearly finished scraping, about 3 acres to do in N. W. orchard. Began to plant new ground on the 3d and finished today. Ran sweeps through the flint corn on hill side of W. field. As severe a drought as I ever saw, save '39.

12. A fine rain on Tuesday night (just before day on Wednesday morning, 10th). Thinned out corn 10th, 11th and 12th. Plows dirting cotton. Hoes in burn field, after thinning. Put out more drawings on the 10th. Kell's lost Eliza's youngest girl, *Theresa, died this day, Friday, 12th.*

23. Tuesday. Began to rain about 3 o'clock, and a fine rain we had, with quite a blow. Broke out middles in pear orchard; Jerome has idled, cannot finish under another day.

26. Plowed out, sowed peas and harrowed in on Friday, thus *laying by* the flint corn.

28. Jacob has the measles; Peyton, Amy, and Amanda through; little Milly and Maria now down.

31. Jerome and his gang, 9 large and small, at corn— $2\frac{1}{2}$  days more work. I may say that I have a fair stand on 80 acres of land and an indifferent one on 15 acres. We will finish plowing it on Friday, having scraped it twice. Cotton is now so irregular in height that there is no saying how high it is, some with only 2 leaves having come up since rain on 23d, while the best stalks will measure 18 inches. It is in pretty fair order and middles clean. I have about 5 acres of flint corn laid by and 60 acres that is about 3 feet high. We can hoe and plow it in a week—besides 20 acres of new ground that has been scratched round and furrows thrown in middle on 12 acres of it. It is now about 1 foot high. Crop generally in good condition; some grass in a part of corn where not well plowed when plowed last.

JUNE, 1848.

3. We have very nearly finished corn with hoe hands, a part of 10 or a dozen rows to do. Plows now in corn sweeping it out.

Plows finished cotton for the second time yesterday before noon.

8. Ripe tomatoes enough for table yesterday. White nutmeg peaches ripe on the 1st, Elmira eatable on the 6th, raspberries ripe, figs at Montgomery's on the 5th. The Adams Early White Corn planted May 4 shows the tassel 10th June.

16. Plow hands saw red blooms on Thursday, 9th. Bloom on Vick's cotton in S. E. orchard on the 15th.

17. Hoe hands finished pear orchard cotton on the 15th, north field this morning, and the N. E. and N. W. orchards on the 14th; today began burn field, plows in it, but we will stop tonight and clean the drill first, it being the foulest cotton I have seen. The dirting it and light showers have only started grass finely. Corn sent me by Allen and planted May 1, tassels in sight on 15th. Sowed the following seed in box and jars on 14th: *Lilium roseum*, *lilium album*, *lilium speciosum*, *lilium superbum*, *geranium* (superb mixed from named flowers), perennial phlox. Saw a ripe Early York at S. W. M.'s on 16th.

18. Red June ripe, Summer Queen ripe. I got a roasting ear today out of white corn planted 13 and 14th March. Rained repeatedly through the past night, everything looks bright. Planted the last of Allen's corn on 15th in pear orchard.

20. Rained very hard on Monday afternoon; creek out of banks.

21. Hoe hands nearly over 3d time, will finish in forenoon tomorrow. Early York peaches ripe on the 21st. Cutting oats today. Seed sown in flower garden: *Zenia elegans coccinia*; finest bordered coxcomb, perennial phlox (Charles), new, from new, fancy varieties, very beautiful; *martynia fragrans*, *hibiscus humboldti*, new; spirea *Lindleyana* (new hardy shrub, racemes of flowers 3 feet long); petunia beauty, new; phlox *drummondii occulata* (new and beautiful); petunia alba (new) grandiflora; *hibiscus humboldti*; yellow tassel flower; petunia mixed (new); portulacca *thellusoni*, *salpiglossis* (new), yellow; petunia *striata* (new) grandiflora.

25. Nearly done, would have finished but for loss of time with oats. A day's work yet on hand, corn quite good for new and rough land.

I note for future reference: Mr. Montgomery planted corn on 26, 27, and 28th of June on land where corn and cotton had been drowned out.

4 plows now in orchard plowing cotton. Began to plow corn on 26th and continue, although much in tassel and silk; we could not plow sooner and would not now but for grass and to sow peas.

JULY, 1848.

3. Very heavy rain last night; no plows today. Turned hogs into field yesterday and feeding on green corn. Put up nearly all fence to keep stock in pasture.

25. (See March 31.) Having soaked the corn long enough to destroy the germ, *I succeeded* in not getting *one grain* to vegetate. I lost time, and when I did get a rise the stand was very bad. I, therefore, note now for 1849: After examining with a view of adopting the surest mode by which I may have a prospect of making 150 bushels of corn per acre, I conclude to spread broadcast in Dec., '48, or Jan., '49, 250 bushels of cotton seed, to turn them under 6 inches deep, following with a subsoil plow 4 inches deeper, then spread 20 cart loads of such manure on top soil from the woods and turn this under 3 to 4 inches deep, then a top dressing of 200 bushels of cotton seed, to be mixed in with soil with shovel plows and harrow, then finish with 10 bushels of ashes and well harrowed in. I will then mark off rows exactly 3 feet apart north and south and drop 6 or 8 grains 18 inches apart, and cultivate first with small shovel and then with a harrow, thin out to 3 or 4 stalks. Thus 3 feet by 1½ gives 9,680 hills and 3 stalks give 29,040; or 4, 38,720. I will try it, if I spend the labor so as to make corn cost \$1 per bushel.

28. Fruit ripe today: "Like Royal George," free, 7½ in. in circum., suture well defined to nipple, which is small; white with a blush, covered with small red specks; "Noblesse" (Griffith's), free, 7½ in. suture, one side larger, small nipple, greenish, tinged with red, slightly and red speckles, globular; "Violet Hatio," free, 7½ in., suture slightly defined, rich, little larger, greenish white with specks, globular; "Emperor of Russia," 6½ in., free, suture, rich, considerable larger, nipple full, white with a blush, oblong; "Polls Melocoton," 7 in., cling, suture, full nipple, beautiful bright red and yellow, oblong; "Downing's," 7½ in., free, suture slight, nipple, blush white, a pretty fruit, globular; "Early Bough Apple" ripening; "Early York" (ripe 1st of June); "Early Hai-

vest" (ripe); "Early Red Rareripe" (26th); "Cole's Early Red" (24th); "Red Juneating," from Montgomery (25th of June); "Burgess Beauty" (24th); "Early Tillotsa" (24th); "Elmira" (24th); "Early Bough" apple ripening yesterday; "President" (Montgomery got for me) ripe today.

## JULY, 1848.

1. "Snow," largest  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. in circumference; "Bugon's Yellow."
2. "Monstrous Free," yellow, fine, pretty.
3. "Burton's Seedling," not quite ripe, but excellent.
16. Pulled 4 pears from W. pear tree today, nearly 9 in. in circumference, short thick stem, set in a deep basin, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. high, calyx open, small, in a deep basin; "Favourite," 15 July, large and fine.

Our crop is generally good, though a part is very grassy, and except some 30 acres it requires work. Plow work has been badly done, and gives heavy plowing and rough hoe work.

17. A. K. M. kindly spayed 32 sows and shoats today.
24. Sheared sheep today, 35 ewes, 2 rams (3 were nearly naked), 139 lbs., one 4-lb. cut. I sheared 15 sept., '47, and thus each sheep sheared 4 1-5 lbs. in 10 months.

## AUGUST, 1848.

Pulled fodder 4 past days—Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday.

15. Hauled in 7,246 bundles.

## SEPTEMBER, 1848.

8. Maria died the morning of the 8th September. Amy's child, 2 years old.
10. Amy gave birth to a girl child this morn. about 2 o'clock.

## OCTOBER, 1848.

2. We cut up grass in nursery for hay and made 3 loads (2 previously).
- 11 and 12. We pulled pea vines and hauled up 4 good loads. Our forage crop stands thus: Fodder, 7,240 bundles, or about

12,000 lbs.; crab grass hay, 5 loads, say 5,000 lbs.; pea vines, 4 loads of hay, value, say, 6,000 lbs.; total, 23,000 lbs.

Bought 4 choice young mules this month from a drove at \$110 each.

Pressed and sent to Davenport, 12 bales (Sept. 9), weighing 5,421 lbs.; McD. and Peck, 10 bales (Sept. 27), weighing 4,294 lbs.; Davenport, 10 bales (Oct. 13), weighing 4,095 lbs.

20. Hauled 28 loads of corn to date.

21. Picked today (see cotton book) 1,587 lbs. of peas. I weighed 1 lb. of cotton seed and counted them=3,722; 25 lbs. would have 93,050 seed. If planted in rows 4 feet distant and 15 inches between stalks (8,712 hills), say 5 seed in a place=43,560, or will thus plant over 2 acres, or one seed in a place 1 bushel would plant nearly 11 acres.

22. Turned into corn field this day 15 hogs for meat.

24. Turned in 24 more hogs for meat.

24. Threshed 100 lbs. of peas, giving nearly 18 bushels.

26. I now estimate my crop thus: 44 loads of corn, equal to about 2,200 bushels. This added to 600 bushels cut green for hogs makes 2,800 bushels. From 6 acres I only gathered 1 load, balance was cut and fed; 371 lbs. peas picked today, making 1,959 lbs.

#### NOVEMBER, 1848.

18. Solon Robinson from Indiana, dropped in this night.

25. Put up yesterday 13 large hogs (Frisby mark), 16 large ones (my own mark), 19 young hogs (my own mark), 3 young hogs (Frisby mark), making altogether 51 hogs.

#### DECEMBER, 1848.

1. I counted in the field today 59 head of hogs, 3 about lots, 2 boars, 12 young sows, 12 sows with pigs, 1 not pigged yet, 68 pigs (according to Cyrus), making in all 157 head.

11. Killed today 24 head of hogs, weighing 4,356 lbs., lard 459 lbs. Sowed oats the last 8 or 10 days of November, rain preventing regular work.

25. Killed today 27 hogs weighing 8,013 lbs.

26. Put up today in a barrel 19 hams weighing 265 lbs., as follows: scattered with 20 lbs. sugar, 2½ lbs. saltpetre, 10 lbs.

Liverpool salt; thus to remain one week. I will then pour off the brine and boil it until all impurities rise, and add water enough to it to fill the barrel, with salt and 3 quarts of lye, all to be boiled until clear, pour on cold until barrel is full.

8,013 home hogs, about 200 lbs. of wild meat and hogs Cyrus killed.

31. 150 lbs. of bacon, enough bacon, home and wild meat for January and February; 459 lbs. lard first killing, sold to Junghe 48, to Dr. Kells, 50=359 lbs. on hand; 213 lbs. of leaf and gut lard—12 middlings and trimmings, all last, 213, making altogether 572 lbs. of lard.

#### JANUARY, 1849.

2. Rolled logs with my hands on 1st and 2d and S. W. M.'s, they being in return for time spent in ginning 13 bales for him. We have now cut up logs in W. field, N. field, cleaned about 10 acres in W. field, cut down all corn stalks and rolled the 20 acres new ground west side of W. field.

5. Planted a little over 1 barrel of Irish potatoes in garden.

16. Hired from Wm. Montgomery 2 negroes, Henry and Matilda, at \$200 for 12 mos. I pay clothing, taxes and doctor's bills. Began today.

17. Began clearing south of burn field today. Rain, rain, all the time.

21. Since 12th we have had rain more or less every day, except Friday, the 19th. Roads are in an awful condition.

23. Amy's child, Rhina, died this morning, choked by a child's feeding it. Started 2 plows in E. field today about 9 o'clock, and will start 2 more about 4 o'clock. Grafted a few plums prior to date. Pulling out pear stocks today. Hauling in top of earth for dwarf pears.

28. Rolled logs in new ground south of burn yesterday, having finished the chopping on the day before. We had 4 plows on the 24th and 25th (rained on night of 25th) in E. field and will have 4 tomorrow. We were busy two days putting out pear, quince and peach stock, taking up and resetting last year's grafts, and not done yet. Intend to have: Pear stocks, 2,000; quince, 1,200; plum, 500; peach, 3,000. Mr. W. Montgomery takes Henry and pays from 12 March.

FEBRUARY, 1849.

9. Peach and plum blooms for several days, apricot bloom today. Putting out wild peach hedge today, plants are now growing. Trees in bloom. Finished 40 acres in E. field yesterday. Now plowing peach orchards. All stalks down or pulled up; all logs are cut up. I saw red oak in bloom on the 8th of February, 1849.

15. Thermometer on 13th,  $28^{\circ}$ , 14th,  $29^{\circ}$ , 15th,  $32^{\circ}$ ; sleet before day.

19. 18 lambs. Ram dead again. Our peas, about 6 inches high, were "kilt dead" on 17th or 18th.

22. Planted out pear dwarfs each side of avenue, between walnut trees and the balance in pear orchard between pear trees.

MARCH, 1849.

8. A remarkably pleasant, dry spell of weather for 2 weeks; red bud and dogwood in full bloom before the 5th; flowering apple out in full on the 6th, pear blooms several days, and an apple bloom seen 7th. About 600 cabbage plants set out on the 3d, and a great many more ready. We began to plant corn in E. field the 1st day of March; planted that by Saturday, 3rd, at 9 o'clock; then in S. field or burn field. We had all old ground planted by 12 o'clock on Monday and had then to assist in breaking up new ground, it being plowed and cross plowed before planting. We finished it Wednesday by 5 P. M., and then to N. W. orchard and finished it today at 9 A. M. I am still grafting, finished apricots tonight, also a few almonds.

11. But for hauling manure my business would be well up, considering we have done so much fencing, orchard and clearing work. I must haul manure and start all plows I can. I grafted this morning, though Sunday, 4 grafts of "Northern Spy" apple, received from N. Y. (Rochester), and cut prior to 16th of Feby.

13. About 1,200 cabbage plants now set out. Sewee beans planted.

16. (See April 4.) Planted about one acre of *Golden Alleghany Corn* today as follows: Prior to 15 Feb. I had the land turned over with 2-horse plows. Began to haul manure on it on the 13th, hauled 19 loads of about 20 or 25 bushels per load, say

500 bushels, this was spread broadcast, the subsoil plow then ran about 2 feet apart (the east side best subsoiled), the land then harrowed well. Rows marked off 3 feet apart, corn then dropped for a stand, 10 rows, one stalk every foot, 10 rows, 2 stalks every foot, 10 rows 1 stalk every 2 feet, 10 rows 2 stalks every 2 feet, 10 rows with one stalk every 3 feet, 10 rows with 2 stalks every 3 feet, 10 rows for 2 stalks every 4 feet. I will then scatter about 100 bushels of seed and have 50 to manure around each hill. It took  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel and dropped by myself mainly. Mr. Aiken helped me drop. Planted yesterday and today pole beans, Sewee beans, "Adams extra early" corn, and cabbage seed.

MAY, 1849.

1. Having hoed our corn the past week, we began to scrape on the last day of April.

11. We have had repeated and heavy rains for a few days past and occasional showers about 10 days. Too wet for plows to run this week; we tried a while on Tuesday, the 8th, but being absent to see Mrs. S., I do not know how the scrapers worked. We have scraped this week, wet as it was. We have now over 1 acre of potatoes put out.

14. Planted more potatoes this afternoon, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres now, and a good stand. Six plows today breaking out middles and earthing corn, running around with turning plows and shovels to break out, one furrow will mostly do, 6 plows ran around about 32 acres. Ripe raspberries for a few days. Madeline pear ripe in Vicksburg a week.

17. Oats are now turning. Cutting for feed so as to make room for more sweet potatoes.

27. Died on the 27th day of May, 1849. Born 21st Oct., 1806, at 5 mins. past 12 M., John T. Blow. Moved to Mississippi in 1834. A good man, a true man, and, not the least, an honest man. He died at Dr. Kells'.

JUNE, 1849.

3. Today (Sunday) I may claim my stand of cotton to be fair, only because I have planted closer than usual and have continued to replant, and am now replanting. All cotton has been

scraped and about twenty acres twice. About 20 acres 2d years' land is very foul, but we will have all hoes in it tomorrow, and hope to have hoe work over by Wednesday. The cotton not killed by frost and which was planted on 26 and 29 of March, looks fine, and is now, the best of it, nearly knee high—the balance from 6 inches to the replanting of yesterday in all stages. Some 50 acres out of, say, 125, is from grassy to foul, but we can now, if dry, soon clean it.

Corn received last plowing on 21st May, but peas yet to plant, the crop is in good order, but a part has become foul, from the old grass not dying. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  the crop is tasseling very low indeed, and though the corn is of a fine color, yet the prospect is unfavorable for even an average of 20 bushels.

7. Kells sent down a woman and child this afternoon.
11. Seed oats cut on the 9th and 11th.
12. Adams Early planted on 16th March, in roasting ears by the 8th of June.
13. Cotton blooms seen today.
26. I saw 4 blooms on a stalk yesterday, and counted 10 forms on a limb.

#### JULY, 1849.

27. Hauled in on 24th two loads of fodder and on 27th 4 loads 3,300 bundles.

#### AUGUST, 1849.

1. Only two rains today. I had N. F. and north new ground cotton *topped on 31st July.*

#### SEPTEMBER, 1849.

3. The army worm is now here beyond all doubt. Began to pull corn.
18. Have hauled to date 55 loads of corn, about 1,925 bushels.

#### DECEMBER, 1849.

10. Employed Mr. Champion to oversee, at \$300 per year, to be found in 600 lbs. of pork and meal for his family.
11. Killed 25 hogs today, making 5,020 lbs. of pork. Emily gave birth to a boy Dec. 6 (Wednesday night).

20. Easter gave birth to a girl December 20th (Thursday morning before day).

24. Jane gave birth to a boy Dec. 24th (Monday morning, about 8 o'clock). Killed 18 hogs today, making 2,950 lbs. of pork.

Mr. David L. Champion being in charge of the business here and keeping a book of the business, I have not thought it needful.

We will plant this season as follows:

To corn, E. Field, 40 acres; S. Field, 40 acres; center Field, 30 acres; total 110 acres, or near it.

To cotton, W. Field, 95 acres; N. Field, 5 acres (only a part); P. orchard, 5 acres; N. W. P. orchard, 10 acres, adjoining E. F. and potato patch, 20 acres; total, 135, or nearly that.

To sweet potatoes, apple orchard, 10 acres.

To pindars, 2 acres.

I rate hands as follows: Jerome and Charity, 2; Peyton, Paris and Amanda, 2; Edward and Jane, 2; Cyrus and Amy, 2; Jack, Nanny and Mary, 2; Moses, Antony and Mamie, 2; 12 hands of mine, Patty being added to Jane and Charity; Jerome and Peyton, Charity and Jane, 4; Cyrus and Edwin, Amy and Moses, 4; Jack, Paris and Patty, 2; Nanny, Mary, Amanda and Anthony, 2—12.

Jacob and Easter, 1½; Jim and Nancy (6 mo. and sickly, not ½ hand), 2; Bill and Emily, 1¾; Prince, ¾, 6 hands, but 4 of them come 1st of March; Jim (14 mos.), Bill (10 mos.), Easter and Emily (10 mos.), Nanny (6 mos.), 3 hands; Prince and Jacob, 2 hands.

#### *Passing Events (1850).*

April 2. Charity gave birth to a boy this morning about 9 to 10 o'clock—"James."

April 13. Planted first cotton this year today as follows: Seed from James E. Harrison, of Aberdeen, Miss., brought from Texas. He says 5 acres in Texas made 15 bags of 500 lbs. each and with him ½ acre made in '49, 900 lbs. *clean* cotton, yielding upon trial 150 lbs. of seed cotton.

Seed from W. W. Whitehead, Middleton, Miss. "Multiflora." He has grown it 4 yrs. and for "quality, production, and yield of lint", best of any.

Seed from John L. Croon, Greensboro, Ala., selected in 1848, gives no name. "I'll insure," says he, "you will be better pleased with them than any you have ever planted."

Seed from "Hinds" of Cayuga (5 seed)—"I think them entirely different from any I have found." He sends half he has.

April 19. Seed corn from G. W. Summerville, Hope, Pickens Co., Ala., "Golden Chaff."

May 30. Eliza gave birth to a boy on the 30th of May—"Sambo."

Sept. 9. Amy gave birth to a boy, September 9, 1850—"Richmond."<sup>26</sup>

#### JANUARY, 1850.

1. Hands work on new house for overseer. Trash gang chopping down old timber in East Field and cleaning off hedge.
2. Men getting timber for chimneys, trash gang chopping down the old timber in East Field until 12 o'clock, then picking cotton in W. F.
3. Men getting timber for chimneys and mauling rails. Jack hauled load of cotton to depot for Dr. R. Kells.
4. Easter and Jane sick.
5. Men mauling and hauling rails around East field. Trash gang picking cotton in W. field until 12 o'clock, then all hands had holiday.
6. Sunday.
12. Four of the men and team work for Dr. Kells, balance of men piddling at the yard. Trash gang picking cotton in W. F. until 12 o'clock, then all stopped work.
14. Dr. Philips left for Natchez this morning. Work on kitchen chimney, trash gang picking cotton in W. F.
26. Ditching, chopping and hauling wood, trash gang mending up heaps until 12 o'clock, then all hands stopped.

#### FEBRUARY, 1850.

2. Jacob grinding today. Commenced raining hard about 9 o'clock, stopped all hands until this afternoon. Men putting up

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<sup>26</sup>The remainder of this diary for 1850 is in the handwriting of Dr. Philips' overseer, Mr. D. L. Champion.

crop fence in last year's oat patch. Women washing this afternoon.

5. Men chopping and mauling rails, trash gang threshing down cotton stalks, Jack and Prince hauled 10 loads manure.

6. Three hands cleaning out ditch back of quarters and near orchard. Jack hauled load of fruit trees and cotton seed to dépôt. Jacob hauled 13 cart loads of manure to E. F. Women and boys threshing cotton stalks in N. F.

8. Cut and marked 19 pigs, 10 lambs, 7 calves. Rain at 10 o'clock. Men shucking and shelling corn, women washing.

13. Received 2 terrier dogs today.

18. Dr. Kells' woman, Emily, commenced work today. 6 plows in C. F. Jack hauled 11 sacks seed to depot. Brought rye back.

20. Five hands gone to Stanly's to help raise gin. 3 plows in S. patch, trash gang in C. F., Cyrus and Jim cleaning round fruit trees.

22. Rolling logs, 2 boys making blind bridles, made 3 the best in the world.

28. Dr. Kells sent Jim, Bill and Nancy down here today.

APRIL, 1850.

27. Nine hands work on public road. Balance of hands work on avenue. Rained very hard in evening, hands very wet coming from road.

MAY, 1850.

23. Sent 2 hands to Montgomery's to raise bridge.

30. Hard storm at 3 o'clock, to stop all hands, wind blew down timber.

31. All hands fishing today.

JUNE, 1850.

1. Worms and lice killing cotton.

2. Sunday.

3. All hands replanting cotton in W. F.

8. Father Matthew at Depot this evening.

JULY, 1850.

7. Sunday. Rev. W. Cary Crane (Baptist preacher) preached at H(armony) church.

20. Paris came from depot with Mrs. Philips' pony.

AUGUST, 1850.

12. All hands pulling fodder. Have 6,500 bundles housed to date.

13. All hands pulling fodder until 12 o'clock, then Jim, Bill, Peyton and Jacob getting press timber; Jack and Edward hauling fodder.

14. Five hands getting press timber; balance of hands pulling fodder. Killed 113 squirrels; Peyton has killed 52 raccoons.

19. Five hands getting press timber since 13th; 2 hauling it up to gin. Balance of hands cutting green corn in river field.

20. Four hands getting press timber and 2 hauling to gin house on 20 and 21. Balance of hands cutting green corn.

22. Three hands hauling corn from river field, Jim and Cyrus making baskets.

23. Three hands hauling green corn from river field, 2 sawing blocks for shingles, 2 making baskets, trash gang finished peach orchard cotton.

25. Sunday.

26. Finished O. F. cotton; 4 hands sawing shingle blocks; Cyrus and Jim bolting it up; Jerome riving curbing for well at church; 4 hands plowing potatoes and peas; balance cutting sprouts in E. F.

27. Four hands sawing shingle blocks. Rived 245 pieces well curbing; sent them to church. 2 hands bolting timber. Trash gang picking cotton.

29. All the men work on road; trash gang chopping cotton.

30. Hands work on road, Cyrus making baskets, Prince mending wagon harness, women chopping cotton this afternoon.

31. Men work on road, Cyrus grinding this morning, then to making baskets. Balance of hands chopping briars.

Here stops the daily record until the 13th of December—the cotton picking comes in.

## DECEMBER, 1850.

- 14 Jack finished hauling shingle blocks today. Balance of hands chopping.
19. All hands work at gin, some making shingles and filling sacks. Bailed out 8 bales cotton.
20. Rain today, hands work about gin. White repaired gin.
23. All hands in West F. N. G.; killed 638 lbs. of wild meat.
24. Five hands in swamp killing hogs—killed 768 lbs. (4 of them marked; Dr. P. has the mark).
25. Christmas day, all hands frolicking.
26. Christmas, all hands frolicking.
27. Christmas, all hands frolicking.
29. We have 8,174 lbs. of pork salted away up to this date. This ends the year, 1850. Housed 43 loads corn.

We will plant next year as follows: In cotton, E. Field, 40 acres, calculate on 60,000 lbs.; S. Field, 45 acres, calculate on 46,000 lbs.; W. Field (a part), 50 acres, calculate on 70,000 lbs.; total 175,000, or 130 bales (tho' only count on 100 bales). In corn W. Field (a part), 75 acres, 2,800 bu. (a part in millet); N. Field, 15 acres, 600 bu.; N. of pear orchard, 5 acres, 120 bu. (part in millet); pear orchard, 5 acres, 150 bu.; N. W. peach orchard, 8 acres; Elder field, 14 acres. In potatoes, apple orchard 10 acres. In melons, apple orchard, 1 acre. In pindars, S. E. peach orchard, 4 acres.

## JANUARY, 1851.

1. Baled out 4 bales cotton this morning. 5 of the men worked on pool in N. F. Killed 9 hogs today, say they weighed 650 lbs.
2. Killed 6 hogs today, weigh about 650 lbs.
6. Finished packing cotton, 99 bales.
7. All hands at work in N. F., N. G. Jim and Peyton ditching with William.
8. Jack hauled 75 bushels cotton seed to depot, Jacob and Moses hauling rails. Purcell (blacksmith) commenced today.

## FEBRUARY, 1851.

4. Repairing fence, chopping up logs. Jerome and Peyton mauling rails. Prince making blind bridles. Jim and Bill sick.

24. All hands rolling logs. Kells' Bill (a negro boy) ran away.  
 28. Rain, hail and snow today. 4 hands riving and drawing shingles. Balance of hands selecting seed corn.

### MARCH, 1851.

16. Sunday. Mr. Champion left today.<sup>27</sup>  
 17. Two plows laying off and bedding for potatoes in apple orchard. Jerome and 12 chaps cleaning up S. F. New Ground nearly all day. Cyrus and 3 hands ditching in N. F.

### APRIL, 1851.

1. Began to plant cotton today.  
 4. We have now, comparatively writing, finished clearing, having only a few, maybe 50 to 100 rails, to split; timber cut and them to put up. We have our corn crop pretty well up, a bad stand and so little that it is not worth noticing. We have 30 acres of new ground planted in cotton and about 70 bedded up. We can be ready to plant all crop in 4 or 5 days if desirable. But our fencing is badly behind hand. And the Elder field all to clean and fence.  
 14. Six plows barring off corn part of the day. Balance plowing millet ground. Sowed today about 2 acres of millet grass, 2 acres of Egyptian millet and 10 rows, next to pear orchard, in *Doura Corn*.  
 15. Finished planting the cotton crop today, planting as follows: in W. field, beginning west side, *Arkansas Prolific*, 15 rows; *Select Brown*, 50 rows; *Brown from particular stalks*, 3 rows; *Royal Cluster*, select, 15 rows; *Select Silk*, 20 rows; mixed cotton, 10 rows; *Guinea*, 8 rows; *Jethro*, 62 rows, in part row of Jethro, at stake going south from road, are 4 hills of a seed, very brown; 3 from G. W. Summerville; 6 from S. America; 19 from California; 8 from Texas (Sharkey's 900 boll).

17. Five plows dirting corn, all other hands, except Cyrus, at the hoe. Cyrus and Frank making shingles for Baker Creek church.

21. Bedded up and planted in apple orchard 25 rows of *Jethro*

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<sup>27</sup>The remainder of the diary is in the hands of Dr. Philips.

cotton. Planted 5 rows, near by, of Santa Maria cotton seed in N. F. from Mr. C. B. Stewart, of Montgomery, Texas. Mary Kells, 21 years old today.

27. Sunday. For past two days the men have been plowing round fruit trees and getting out timber for a cook-house.<sup>28</sup>

29. Jerome with his gang chopping round cotton, doing but little; Frank, Cyrus, Bill, Peyton getting out timber for cook-house; Edward, Jack, Prince, Amy and Jacob ploughing corn; Jim hauling up timber.

MAY, 1851.

1. Cyrus, Bill and Peyton cutting cordwood; Frank making gate for Dr. Kells; Jerome and his gang hoeing in corn; Edward, Jack, Prince, Jacob and Amy ploughing in corn, running round it. They finished about 5 o'clock, then took their hoes. Edward says his plough gang did 115 rows, long ones, in West field. Jim did not finish his job until about 5 o'clock. After he finished hauling the timber for cook-house, he went to hauling rails to make a pen for his own. The hoe hands did about 22 acres. Frank did not get along with his job as fast as his master thought he would.

6. Jerome finished South field new ground this morning by our usual breakfast time, then went into West field new ground. Edward's hands ploughed 163 long rows today. Frank made 38 double rows shingles.

9. Jerome's hands did 174 rows in East field; Edward's ploughed 169, finished the field about sunset. Frank made 38 double row shingles.

10. Edward's ploughs did 125 rows in South field (3 ploughs), Jacob being in the millet. Frank made 16 double rows shingles by dinner. In the afternoon he laid a hearth in my kitchen and one at the cook-house. Jerome with his hands cleaned out the millet and scraped a few rows of cotton. Bill sick today.

15. Edward's hands finished running round the cotton in West field new ground and did 100 rows in breaking out middle. Jack and Bill finished the new ground and then came into the cotton

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<sup>28</sup>This was a negro kitchen, built for the exclusive use of slaves.

in orchard. Jerome's hands finished West field today, making just one week since they began scraping cotton. Frank repaired the cart and then fixed a plough.

16. Jerome's hands cleaned out the cotton in orchard and the pindars by 11 o'clock, then went into West field new ground, did 45 rows. Frank stocked one plough and finished the one he began yesterday. Edward's hands broke out 144 rows middles. Jack and Bill ran around 80 rows, that making their task.

17. Frank made a hop arbor and bean, plastered the fireplace in the hall.

#### JULY, 1851.

2. Cut Egyptian millet today. We finished cotton the 4th time on Monday, 30 June. I am at a loss to judge of crop owing to the very remarkable drought. I do not think the earth has been wet 3 inches deep since breaking up land in March.

21. Began to plant cotton again today, 5th time hoeing; ran turning plows so as to give a good ridge.

22. Cutting Egyptian millet the second time.

#### AUGUST, 1851.

18. We have now packed away 10,370 bundles of fodder, with 9 small loads of Egyptian millet, 6 large (body) loads (say 7 loads of 700 bundles) and 5 loads of millet grass equal to 7,700 bundles of fodder; total equal to 18,000 bundles of 2 lbs. each, or 36,000 lbs., or 180 tons of fodder value. We will yet save 10,000 lbs. of millet and 2,000 bundles of fodder, or about 50,000 lbs. of fodder value, this aside from oats.

20. Sent 4 two-horse plows to work road on 14th and again on the 19th and 20th, thus working 12 days.

21. Sent a load of fodder to Dr. Kells this eve, 500 bundles. Began to pick cotton today about 8 o'clock (Thursday) and picked 1,396 lbs., 12 chaps.

25. Mr. Campbell's man Bob, brickmaker, came down this day, August 25 (Monday).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>The remainder of the diary for 1851 and for January and for the greater part of February, 1852, has been torn out of the book.

## FEBRUARY, 1852.

We anticipate to plant 109 acres in corn with a hope of making 4,000 bushels, 215 acres in cotton for 200 bales.

## MARCH, 1852.

8. Began to plant corn today, with 4 sets of hands and planted probably only 30 acres. Killed Smith mare, overdriving. Lungs very highly congested.

13. Married on Saturday night, the 13th March, by M. W. P., Frank and Amy, Jack and Emily, both women belonging to Dr. Kells.

18. Kells brought home 2 negro boys yesterday. Esau and Washington planted yesterday and today about 2,000 cabbage plants.

## APRIL, 1852.

12. Returned from Memphis, Tenn., last night, absent since 29th ult. All land at home planted, now bedding up with 8 teams at the Wells field.

21. Began to scrape cotton.

## MAY, 1852.

3. Finished scraping in 8 days, with 14 hands.

## JUNE, 1852.

16. Saw cotton blooms today, so says Champion.

## AUGUST, 1852.

13. Hauled to date 13,360 bundles of fodder and 8,000 lbs. of millet, equal to 17,360 bundles of fodder in all.

## SEPTEMBER, 1852.

22. Gave out blankets today, one to each one going to the field, and Frank and Patty, giving out 32 blankets.

27. Cyrus says he has turned into pea field 23 large hogs, 9 barrows, 13 spayed sows and 1 open sow. There are four others not up, two of which have 8 pigs each in the pasture.

OCTOBER, 1852.

30. About 20, large and small, gathering peas today in south field; gathered 25 bushels.

NOVEMBER, 1852.

17. Received a pair of Suffolks the night of the 17th. Mr. John Raynolds, of Boston, editor of *N. E. Farmer*, writes October 11th regretting he agreed to let her go (selected for me by J. V. Jones, of Atlanta, Ga.), says she is worth and would now sell there for \$40; says the sow is 12 months old in October. The boar is 4½ months old, and is the best he saw except one, after writing to and visiting nine breeders, attending State fair in Vt. and one of the largest in Mass. The best he saw could not be bought. He adds the boar has more hair than usual, which is regarded there as an advantage.

21. Digging potatoes, having now put up 5 banks of cuttings and 2 of slips. Saved 350 bushels, with fully as many in potato house, cut and not selected. We have 3 or 4 acres yet to dig. Continuing until we put up 10 banks and filled potato house.

DECEMBER, 1852.

Analysis of cotton crop of 1852:

25 acres in Jethro seed, yielded 26,078 lbs., average yield, 1,071 lbs.

25 acres in Banana seed, yielded 40,991 lbs., average yield, 2,049 lbs.

30 acres in Sugar loaf, yielded 32,155 lbs., average yield, 1,058 lbs.

17 acres in Silk, yielded 28,365 lbs., average yield, 1,666 lbs.

25 acres in Brown, yielded 31,242 lbs., average yield 1,249 lbs.

40 acres in Banana (East F.), yielded 50,223 lbs., average yield, 1,255 lbs.

7 acres in 100 seed, yielded 11,242 lbs., average yield 1,340 lbs.

164 acres, home crop, yielded 231,602 lbs., average yield, 1,412 lbs.

53 acres, rented land (poor enough at that), in Banana, 45,- 501 lbs.

217 acres, entire crop, yielded 267,103 lbs., average yield 1,231 lbs.

We lay our plans for 1853 as follows, to be governed by an ability to clear land:

To Corn: West end of W. field, 45 acres; now cleared at river 16 acres; South field 55 acres; total 116 acres and plant for 4,500 bushels.

To Cotton: W. field (old part), 73 acres in Banana; pear orchard, 7 acres in 100 seed; N. F. (south of ditch), 2 acres in Silk; N. F. (new ground and second years), 73 acres in Sugar Loaf; E. F., 40 acres in Banana; E. F. (west of road), 20 acres in Banana; total 233 acres and plant for 220 bales.

To Potatoes: East of peach orchard, 6 acres for 1,200 bushels.

To Oats and Barley: S. field, 20 acres; west of cow lot, 10 acres.

I rate my hands as follows, considering though some are not hands themselves, yet with others will be so, through the year. For instance, Mary will be a full hand in picking, the most important, and in hoeing ordinary:

1, Jerome; 2, Cyrus; 3 Edward; 4, Jack; 5, Moses; 6, Paris; 7, Manuel, 8 Anthony; 9, Amy; 10, Jane; 11, Charity; 12, Mary; 13, Nancy, Amanda, Milly; 14, David; 15, Jacob; 16, Prince; 17, George; 18, Bill; 19, Fanny; 20, Jim; 21, Esau; 22, John; 23, Emily; 24, Easter; 25, Ann; 26, Viny (belonging to Mr. Hull, who places her labor for 12 mos. against the use of \$300), Nancy (in a push and in picking); 27, Washington, Hannah and William thrown in; 28, Ellen (say 25 good hands, not counting Peyton<sup>20</sup> at all; 29, Milly; 30, Maria (bought February 18).

### JANUARY, 1853.

1. Mr. Hall proposes himself that his salary shall begin today, as he had little matters of his own to attend to, which would interfere until this date, wages at rate of \$400 for one year.

21. Returned from Grand Lodge on 20th, having left home on 14th.

27. Bought two mules from a Mr. Phillips of Ky. on 22d and

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<sup>20</sup>See entry under July 10, 1853.

broke them to the plow; also breaking in one raised here and one on 30th which we got from S. W. M.

FEBRUARY, 1853.

6. 44 old sheep and 21 lambs.
11. Pair of Suffolks from N. Y. came yesterday.
17. All boys and fellows working on road except Frank and Jack and sent 2 women in their stead. Bought a family of negroes from R. M. Hobson; came down on the 4th, paid for them on the 16th.
18. Kells bought 3 girls yesterday; came home today.
21. Dr. Kells traded off Samuel for John, by giving boot, and well done.
28. End of Feb. and we are now about one-half done rolling logs in new ground, rolled  $3\frac{1}{2}$  days. Rail timber for new ground and perhaps nearly all plantation either down or split. Perhaps  $\frac{3}{4}$  of brush burnt in N. G. We are somewhat ahead of last year in haying 100 acres of land flushed.

MARCH, 1853.

2. Moses ran away this day—why, I have no idea, unless mules ran away and he was afraid.
8. Mr. Hall brought Moses from Vicksburg jail yesterday.
15. Received a pig from Jackson on the 12th; a sow from S. W. Montgomery last night.
17. Finished breaking up the 20 acres in S. F. designed for corn today. 3 fellows mauling in S. F., making yesterday and today about 1,100 rails; not done the timber. Some 9 plows in centre Field preparing it for Bermuda grass.
21. We ran 5 or 6 plows in N. G. on Saturday. *Edward ran off.* We are now decidedly behind our work. Season is awfully backward.
22. Five fellows making rails, the small chaps and trash gang hoeing around fruit trees, 4 women cutting up plum trees, 6 boys and women pulling up cotton stalks in pear orchard.
24. Jerome and 4 fellows cleaning out fence rows.
25. Two horse plows bedding up today, will be done tomor-

row. 2 plows laying off for corn, stalks all out of the way. Jerome and 4 boys cutting out fence rows.

28. Planting corn today with 2 droppers and coverers. 11 plows breaking up for corn in W. F. and 1 plow laying off. Easter and children burning off stalks and trash before plows in W. F. Jerome and 3 or 4 women chopping in new ground, where wet.

29. As yesterday and nearly done the old ground of 45 acres, new ground not cleaned up. As yesterday with 13 plows breaking up, Jacob laying off.

31. Began breaking up today in E. F., 3 plows, at 10 o'clock and until about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  o'clock, thence to potato patch bedding up for potatoes. Hauled out to date 73 loads of stable manure and 43 of cotton seed.

#### APRIL, 1853.

7. Finished manuring on 6th, hauled out in full 149 loads.

30. Never before have I found it so difficult to calculate on a day's work. I cannot be near right at any work.

#### MAY, 1853.

6. Jane delivered of a girl yesterday.

13. Cyrus caught today with dogs.

16. Edward came in Saturday night 11 o'clock. Mohleron, the blacksmith, here today.

18. Amy gave birth to 3 girls between 12 and 1 o'clock this morn. 2 lived a short time, the third still born.

#### JUNE, 1853.

2. My wedding day (See 1847). 6 years more added to my married life, without any addition to happiness, save from without. I do most firmly believe there are very many who dwell with rapture on such a day. Alas! pity were it that all could not—or at least that all would not be more honest and not deceive the unmarried.

18. Dr. Kells saw three blooms on one stalk, 2 red, Saturday. All hands fishing, but no luck. Ripe apples, Early Harvest and Red June, all the week.

16. Edward saw 2 blooms on one stalk this day, so he told Mr. Hall on the 17th.
20. Ripe early Tillotson peaches yesterday.
29. Sixty-two head of sheep this day.
30. Mr. Hall left this eve. Moved on July 2nd.

JULY, 1853.

6. Estimate of work today:

12 hands about  $\frac{1}{2}$  day on Monday equal 6 days.

12 hands all day except 2 hours Tuesday equal 10 days.

12 hands all day Wednesday equal 12 days.

We have only 2,268 rails (Edward's count) minus 532; need 2,800.

Sunday  
July 10, 1853  
Peyton is no more

Aged 42

Though he was a bad man in many respects  
yet he was a most excellent field  
hand, always at his  
post.

On this place for 21 years.

Except the measles and its sequence, the  
injury rec'd by the mule last Nov'r and its sequence  
he has not lost 15 days work, I verily believe in the  
remaining 19 years. I wish we could hope for his  
eternal state.

JULY, 1853.

15. But for the rust our crop would be good, aye very good. Corn as a crop is the best I ever had. Cotton will now average nearly 3 feet high, some larger and some smaller. Considering 3 weeks rain, our crop is much cleaner than would be supposed.
18. Off for Raymond and Clinton this afternoon.

AUGUST, 1853.

5. Urner<sup>81</sup> and wife, Mrs. Duncan and Louisa Duncan went home Friday, 5th, Mr. Duncan on the 4th, Mrs. Stokes, 4th.

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<sup>81</sup>Isaac Newton Urner was Principal of Mississippi College 1850-1854, President pro tem. 1854-1859 and President 1859-1867.

18. Emily has a girl this morning. Fodder to date, 21,500 bundles.

19. Jerome and small fry cutting down cocklebur weeds in river F. We have been sawing shingle blocks 2 or 3 days.

27. Began at brick yard Tuesday, 23d, and began to make 25th. Making rails in pasture, 26th and 27th, 10 hands each day. Making baskets this week. Began picking cotton 23rd, after dinner.

29. Ten hands half of this day, not counting 3 hands half of Saturday.

31. Ten hands yesterday and today, 110 days mauling rails.

#### SEPTEMBER, 1853.

1. We have hauled to barn to date: 16 loads of fodder, 16,000; old fodder, 1,000; 2 loads millet (4,000 lbs.), equal to 2,000 bundles; 6 loads of hay (12,000 lbs.), equal to 6,000 bundles. All of which are equal to, I suppose, 25,000 bundles of fodder.

31. 13 baskets of peas yesterday and 10 today; 17 on 26th; 3 on 27th; 9 on 28th; 14 on 29th; 15 on 31st; equal to about 140 baskets altogether.

#### NOVEMBER, 1853.

1. Hauled in to date 5,085 bushels of corn.

30. Charity's boy, Simon, born today.

#### DECEMBER, 1853.

7. Put up fattening hogs on yesterday, 75—some are too small.

20. Killed 27 head of hogs today, 4,955 lbs.

31. We have now all logs cut up, cornstalks cut down on about 55 acres, fencing repaired west of N. F. and north and south of W. F. I might say scarcely anything to do to N. or W. field fence. The pasture is not yet quite done, as I have had to pole it all. My friends will even pull down the back string.

Our crop for 1854 to be thus, depending on season, if not wet early and we can clear:

To Corn: E. field, 20 and river field 40 acres; S. field, 45 acres; overflow of N. field, 20 acres; total, 125 acres.

To Cotton: N. field, 100 acres (including pear orchard and

millet patch); W. field, 120 acres; E. field, 40 acres; S. F., 10, and N. ground, 30 acres; total, 290 acres. We hope to get 300 bales.

To Rice: S. F., N. G., 2 acres.

To potatoes: E. cut orchard S. E., 6 acres.

To Millet: 3 acres in apple orchard.

To Oats: Center field, say 30 acres.

And will rate hands as follows: Jerome, Amy, 2; Cyrus, Jane, 2; Edward, Emily, 2; Jack, Fanny, 2; Prince, Anthony, 2; George, Manuel, 2; Esau, Ann, 2; Bill, Mary, 2; Daniel, Easter, 2; Paris, Charity, 2; Moses, Maria, 2; John, Milly and William, 2; Jim, Ellen and Hannah, 2; Jacob, 1; Nanny and Amanda, 1; Wash,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; total,  $28\frac{1}{2}$ , little Milly thrown in, or say, 29 hands.

#### JANUARY, 1854.

10. All hands at river, chopping, burning, hauling rails, etc., except Easter's gang, for a week. All logs cut up before the 1st and all stalks cut down. Burning stalks in W. F. last week.

27. All hands in new ground, south, today cutting, burning, hauling wood, etc. All hands at river field for some 2 weeks prior to 25th, after which cutting up and rolling logs in W. F., where blown down by storm, and pulling stalks in N. F.

#### FEBRUARY, 1854.

14. Sowed cabbage, lettuce, celery yesterday, and peas, parsnips and beets today. Planted 2 barrels of Irish potatoes on 11th.

#### MARCH, 1854.

15. Began to plant corn in E. field, land flushed on 13th, after dinner; finished yesterday; thence to S. F. and finished this eve; the latter ridged up, then 2 furrows thrown back and planted on that ridge. Easter and small gang cleaning up in N. F. Logs all rolled over the plantation, but not yet burned up in places. Some 5 to 10 ditching in N. F.

25. Yesterday and today put out about 6,000 cabbage plants.

#### APRIL, 1854.

20. Cardenas cotton, 1 acre. Planted today 3 hills of seed from Navigator's Island, in garden.

21. Amy has another babe, a boy, making 15 in all; now about 32 years old, averaging 1 a year. All hands at river from about 11 o'clock this forenoon. Finishing in N. F., we sowed over an acre of corn in every other furrow of plow, covering with next furrow as land was broken up, to be cut for provender.

## MAY, 1854.

15. The crop looks well, old corn knee high perhaps on average; stand of cotton not perfect, and very much grass in corn land in middles. The season has been very unfavorable, late frosts and cold weather, cloudy and raining almost daily.

## JUNE, 1854.

2. My wedding day again, with health and thankfulness for all mercies.

17. Cotton bloomed today, for the first. Jerome says he saw bloom on the 15th.

## JULY, 1854.

4. The crop, all in all, is fine, chance stalks of cotton from shoulder to head high, all clean. Corn good, but injured by drought.

## AUGUST, 1854.

11. The hottest weather and of longest continuance I have known. Hoeing over cotton the fifth time, having plowed all, not too large; 8 fellows getting rails today.

19. Remarkably healthy, may we thank the Ruler of all things and live under his holy influences.

## DECEMBER, 1854.

Crop for 1855, depending upon clearing:

Corn: E. field, 60 acres; river, 40 acres; N. field, 30 acres; S. field, 15 acres; potato patch, 6 acres; total, 151 acres.

Cotton: W. field, 120 acres; N. F. and P. O., 75 acres; S. F., 105 acres; total, 300 acres.

Potatoes: N. field, say 10 acres.

Corn sown for provender: 3 acres in N. F. by lot.

Oats: Center field, 30 acres and corn land of S. field, 35 acres; say, 60 acres.

FEBRUARY, 1855.

9. Neglected making note of work until tonight. Mr. Sandige set in as overseer on 4th day of Jan. at \$500 per year. We have cleaned up, repaired all fences, run two ditches in and plowed river field, cut up logs and burnt off in W. F. Hauled out seed in E. F. and thrown 3 furrows together, stalks down. Cut up and rolled and pretty well burnt logs in corn field and in 40 or 50 acres of new ground. Sowed oats, muskete and clover in center field. Hauled out 30 loads of manure and plowed for corn. Made a new garden and house, manured and plowed and planted cabbage, etc. Have now grafted a lot of pears on quince and pear, a lot of apples on roots.

The most remarkable season for being dry I have ever known, no rain to impede the plow for 2 months. Cold not very severe, yet cold enough, ice for several days together.

7. Bought 4 mules of Mr. Maxwell at \$125 each.

9. Jerome and some 8 or 9 others cutting up logs in N. field. Easter with children knocking down stalks in N. field. 7 double teams plowing out for corn in overflow of N. F.

19. Sown, a week since, about 50 acres in clover. First peach blooms seen today here.

26. The earth covered with snow and sleet. 54 old sheep and 20 lambs. I think this morn. about as cold as this winter. Thermometer below 30°, too cold for the thermometer.

28. Dr. Daniel Nailor says the thermometer at his house at 13° even at a very late breakfast.

MARCH, 1855.

3. Mr. Simms' boy, Thornton, finished blacksmithing, 10 days' work. 4 sets of hands planting corn in E. field, now planted 40 to 50 acres. Worked on public road yesterday with all hands.

21. Now about 190 acres planted in corn.

27. Began to plant cotton north of south field. Dean seed.

29. Will send 2 hides and a goat skin to Mr. Hobson tomorrow, weigh 28 lbs., goat skin, 3. Sent some 2 or 3 weeks ago 16 hides, weighed 115 lbs.

APRIL, 1855.

5. Had to plant over 20 acres in N. field, corn rooted up by pigs. Spayed today and yesterday 32 young sow shoats. Began to shear sheep this evening.
9. Planting rice near Mr. M.'s gate on creek. Sheared 55 sheep; marked 22 lambs.
18. Planted nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an acre in melons yesterday, plowing for more. Sowed 2 acres corn broadcast yesterday, plowed 1 acre for millet today. Finished planting cotton Monday morning, 16th. Thermometer yesterday, 94°.

20. Planted some two dozen hills of Chinese sugar cane, received from Dr. Richmond, Augusta, Ga. (see 130 page *Cultivator*.)

MAY, 1855.

12. Left home for debate in Canton on the 27th of April and returned on the 11th of May (Friday).
28. Digging a well. Credit Frank & Co. \$6.40 for shingles; John & Co., \$1.20; Jacob, \$1.20.<sup>32</sup>

JUNE, 1855.

1. Cotton replanted two weeks ago, coming up; pretty near a full stand. Planted a few acres of corn on horse lot June 1st.
2. Saturday. Uncomfortably cool. Wore an overcoat to Vicksburg to see Stambargh, who has been very ill. Stand of cotton, 160 acres, more or less, very bad, perhaps on 100 acres not over  $\frac{1}{2}$  a stand. Corn remarkably green notwithstanding drought. Gardens very scarce of vegetables.
6. Barometer .29.27, standing for a month at 29.40, or very near it; only a change I see today on my return from Vicksburg and Jackson. First cotton blooms seen on Monday, 3d, one red one.
22. Adams Early in roasting ears, and fair corn for dry weather.
27. Magnificent rain; began this eve and rained about  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour. Glorious! Glorious!!

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<sup>32</sup>This a record of indebtedness for special services rendered by slaves.

JULY, 1855.

2. Sowing osage orange seed in negro garden and near the creek.

AUGUST, 1855.

8. Began brick making today, with two sets of hands, made a few. Hauled up 44 loads of fodder, 34,200 bundles; 2 loads of millet; corn sown broadcast.

13. Began to pick cotton, and got 200 pounds by one hand.

SEPTEMBER, 1855.

7. Hauled corn from center field. Tomorrow (the eighth) the 34th anniversary of my father's death.

8. I lost one of the best of parents. He was harsh, it is true, but one that labored hard to bring up honest, honorable, moral, intelligent, good children.

19. Pressed with 6 hands 15 bales of cotton before half past 10. They average 485 lbs.

23. Died this morning, Monday, 23rd Sept., Scott, Emily's next to oldest boy—a remarkable child of his age, a pet of us all. I feel as if I had lost some dear relative. We know he is the better by the change. May God make us all resigned and able to say, "Thy will, O God, be done."

OCTOBER, 1855.

10. Have sowed "potato patch"  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel oats per acre and  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel clover on the 6 acres. Sowed a paper black oats in corner of patch. Turned into house lot 72 sheep—4 ewes at C. Montgomery's.

Corn crop thus gathered:

South, 50 acres, $22\frac{1}{2}$ loads .....	1,239 bushels
North, 30 acres, $16\frac{1}{2}$ loads .....	950 bushels
East, 60 acres, 33 loads .....	1,758 bushels
Po. patch, 3 acres .....	150 bushels
North, 1 acre, 1 load .....	50 bushels
Add 5 acres south, 4 acres east, 3 north.....	360 bushels
Total .....	4,507 bushels

23. Seed sown today: Neapolitan white wheat; Algerian wheat; Chenaille's oats; large yellow beets; long yellow mangold; white globe turnips; field radish (good for stock in Southern and Middle States); Vosge's white carrots; Skirving's improved Swedish turnips; new hardy green round turnips; common European Burnet (?), flourishes on dry, sandy soil, forms excellent pasture for sheep, may be used as a salad; common French broom (perennial), may be cultivated on the sides of railroads or on poor, sandy soil. Serves for winter browse for sheep.

30. Six large banks of potatoes gathered.

31. Hauled yesterday and today 9 heaping loads of corn from river, say 500 bushels.

#### NOVEMBER, 1855.

2. 17 more loads of corn and one load more in field, equal, say, 1,570 bushels. Entire crop of corn, 103 loads, equals, say, 6,000 bushels. Loaned A. K. Montgomery 152 lbs. of rope.

13. 29 loads of pumpkins in the last few days; some 31 loads prior.

#### DECEMBER, 1855.

1. Finished picking on 20th of November, since when we have been cutting up logs in N. F., making rails, cutting and piling cornstalks.

3. We are today digging cellar under hospital house with some six fellows and fixing for bricking it up, hauling sand and brick.

Dr. Kells made the following contract with Mr. Champion today, as I understand it: To give Mr. C. \$500 a year and \$3 per bale for all over 240 bales; to give him 1-31st part of his cotton crop for his man, Bill, he feeding.

6. A. K. Montgomery borrowed 148 lbs. of rope.

Killed Dec. 5th, 6 young shoats raised in the fields and let go wild, 420 lbs.; killed Dec. 6th, 4 young shoats raised in the fields and let go wild, 375 lbs.; killed Dec. 18th, 12 hogs (2,183 sold to T. Simms at 7½, (\$163.75), and 8 others, 1,211 lbs.; killed Dec. 24th, 4 hogs (357) and one beef (296), 653 lbs.; killed Dec. 27th, 10 for T. Simms (1,713, at 7½, \$128.47), and 21 others, 3,194 lbs.; killed Dec. 27th, 276 lbs. wild meat in field, 276 lbs;

killed Dec. 28th, 130 lbs. wild meat, 130 lbs.; killed Dec. 31st, 347 lbs. wild meat, 347 lbs.; killed Jan. 1st, 524 lbs., 524 lbs.; killed Jan. 3rd, 339 lbs. beef, 68 lbs. wild hog on 2d and 228 lbs. wild pork, 635 lbs.; killed Jan. 4th, 15 young hogs, 1,706 lbs.; killed Jan. 5th, 490 lbs. wild hog; 1,350 lbs. wild (killed 10th and 11th January), 1,840 lbs.

For crop of 1856:

Corn: W. field, 110 acres; elder field, 35 acres (above bayou); N. field, 10 acres (lowest part); total, 155 acres, at 30 bushels per acre, 4,650 bushels.

Cotton: N. field, 110 to 115 acres (including pear orchard); elder field, 10 acres (below bayou and to clear); E. F., 60 acres; S. F., 95 acres; S. F., 30 acres (what we can clear); total 305 acres.

Potatoes: W. field, 10-15 acres (in W. field hill, etc.)

### JANUARY, 1856.

Mr. Champion employed to overseer for \$500 per year with an addition of \$3 per bale for all over 240 bales. His negro Bill to have the 31st part of cotton, counting our force at 30 hands. He feeds his negro. He moved down a day or two before Christmas, and absent during holidays. Suppose we count from 27 or 28 December.

Up to Jan. we had cut up all logs, beat down cotton stalks in N. F., and about 1¼ of W. F., all cornstalks on upland cut down and rails enough for repairs.

15. To date we have cleaned up except rolling logs on 20 acres on creek. Cleared out for levee and now levied about 400 yards. The earth has been frozen about 23 days, nearly all the time, sleet and snow. As cold today as for the past three weeks. Work at levee today with 14 hands, hauling wood and cutting bunch cane at creek.

19. 14 hands at levee, now throwing up to old levee in big bayou, except 2 or 3 small bayous up the creek. Not yet quite done getting bunch canes, willows, etc., burnt up on island piece outside of cut off. Mary received an injury yesterday from a fall off Dr. K.'s pony—has been stupid and senseless ever since. She is in a doubtful condition.

27. My thermometer not grading lower than  $25^{\circ}$  has been of no use since Dec. 23d, the cold ranging as low as  $12^{\circ}$ , I learned from Clinton from Mr. A. Carson. Too cold several days last week to spade.

Mary has still but little sense, improving, I suppose, but recovery yet doubtful.

Dr. Kells dismissed Mr. C. last night, consulting me. Mr. C., we all *think*, uses *too much* liquor, and does not seem to desire to govern negroes; hunting every morn. nearly, for days and days. I have not been satisfied since his return. Came here evidently in liquor; besides, after a positive contract, he made sale of his negroes and required us to wash and cook for him. This we refused, and he brought negroes down. Whether intentional or not, it looked like he was trying to make more out of us than contract. Even now, he seems to demand that any notions of his should be carried out and not willing to enforce our rules—at least one requiring negroes, one and all, to attend preaching. He says it is a sin to *make negroes* attend, and against his conscience.

28. Mr. Champion pledges himself to me to abstain from liquor while here; also to join a temperance society, if one be in Raymond. And feeling willing on my part to do all in my power for a fellowman and really more for him, I willingly agreed for him to remain, knowing he can do well, if he will leave liquor alone and try.

#### FEBRUARY, 1856.

3. Due Jack, shingles, \$18.55; Christmas, \$22.60—\$2.26; Esau, \$10.50. Now about 30 acres cleared and all logs nearly rolled and fired. The clearing may require say two days' work in all to have all ready for the plow.

Received a pair of  $\frac{1}{2}$  Lincoln  $\frac{1}{2}$  Suffolk pigs on the 30th Jan.

4. Thermometer at  $10^{\circ}$  this morn.
5. Thermometer at  $14^{\circ}$  this morn,  $26^{\circ}$  at noon. Rolling in cotton land of So. field.
6. Mr. Simms and Smith Thornton here today.
10. Beautiful day, as yesterday was. We have nearly finished the levee. Tried Coleman's mill yesterday, ground a bushel in less than 14 minutes, not speed enough in running gear, draft

about one horse less at least than the Straub mill, and better meal than ordinary.

11. Jerome and women getting along very slow cleaning up. They do not do their work well as they go, and waste time running over and over. Thornton here 4 days last week, returned today.

14. See Montgomery's carpenter Nejah<sup>ss</sup> here this morn. to pay Frank's work. All hands rolling logs in S. F. on 12th and 13th; also today. Jerome and 8 women and children pulling stalks.

16. Mr. Montgomery gave to Mrs. P. a buggy horse today, cost \$180.

21. Sowing oats yesterday and today, land too wet to cover. 9 two-horse plows started on Monday, 18th, for oats. Plows in new ground on creek this morning.

25. Nejah worked until Wednesday night, 6 days. Thornton worked here 13 days.

MARCH, 1856.

1. Very hard rain last night and much today. Levee broke near Mr. Montgomery's. I suppose we lose fully a  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile of fence. Mr. C. sent 4 hands to stop the rents on outside of levee, and they were not willing to get wet: He left to see his child; about a week's work lost.

12. Sowed rescue grass seed this day, in north side of negro garden.

16. A few peach blooms out for a week. I saw red buds out on 14th; apricots in bloom; quince budding out.

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<sup>ss</sup>Nejar Scott was a negro carpenter belonging to Charles Montgomery. His master allowed him his time for \$600 a year. Nejar was given the greatest freedom of movement, and worked much of the time in Louisiana, principally in Madison Parish. He built several houses at the now extinct town of Amsterdam. His father was also a carpenter, and belonged to William Montgomery until he had saved enough money (by an arrangement similar to that under which Nejar worked) to buy his freedom. It is interesting to note in this connection that slaves did not always take their master's family name. Mr. William Montgomery had only one family, Bill Kinney Montgomery, out of the sixty in his possession who took the Montgomery name after the war. Slaves were often allowed great freedom in choosing their family names, long before their emancipation.

20. Began to plant corn again today. Two sets of hands and 8 teams breaking out.

24. Bedded out 12 to 14 bushels sweet potatoes. Beautiful spring day, land in fine condition.

Making a trial for 100 bushels of corn, preparing land today as follows: Hauled out 4 loads cotton seed, about 400 bushels (rather rotted too much), turned under with two-horse plow and followed by two-horse Broyles subsoil plow. I will lay off 3-feet rows, drop corn as near one foot as I can, then a handful of ashes and cover with harrow. I will order Guano, so as to have enough to give a tablespoonful each side of hill when first worked (Dr. Kells, in my absence, said it was loss of time to use Guano). There will be, if accurately planted, 14,520 stalks. Admit a loss of 1,000 and only 13,000 ears, at an average of 10 ozs., equal 130,000 ozs. divided by 16, equals 8,125, divided by 60, equals 102 bushels.

25. After planting the above corn I then planted the following seed sent me from Patent Office last winter: Silver buckwheat from France; Gallardon's large light-colored lentil from France; white lupines (used as a fertilizer, to be plowed when green) from Alicante in Spain; spurry from France (good for soiling corns, excellent for renovating poor soils by plowing under in a green state); Saumer spring wheat, France, Hungarian spring wheat, France; chicory (used in the preparation of coffee); Spanish hemp seed from Alicante in Spain.

In the above lot of corn, one row of yellow corn given me by Mr. Champion; a part of a row, white flint from Dr. Berry; balance the corn.

First swallows seen yesterday.

31. Sowed this morn. Italian ray grass (selected in England, eaten greedily by cattle green or dry) from Baylor in N. O.

#### APRIL, 1856.

2. Began to plant cotton today in new ground on creek bank and inside of cut off, 2 sets of hands.

8. Jerome and his gang went to the river yesterday to clean up. Planted watermelons.

11. Harrowing corn in W. F. to get it up. Don't believe in it.

16. Nejah began to work here on the 7th, now here 9 days. My brother, Z. A. Philips here, coming out with me from Vicksburg on the 14th. Mrs. Margaret Carter (John C. Carter's wife) also here.

21. Received a half blood Cashmere goat from R. Peters on 17th; phin grass seed from C. E. Potter, Manchester, N. H.

JUNE, 1856.

18. Left home on the 22d April, passed through N. O. and Mobile to Augusta, Ga., via Montgomery, thence to Columbia, back to Augusta, Atlanta, to my sister's at Mt. Meigs, back to Atlanta, thence to Nashville, Memphis, Holly Springs, and Oxford, Miss., back to Memphis, thence to Cincinnati, then home. Attended theological convention in Augusta, Ga.; Baptist State Convention in Oxford, Miss.; National Democratic Convention in Cincinnati. Came home on 14th.

Bought of Mr. Peters on 19th May, near Calhoun, Ga., 5 pigs — 1 boar and 3 sows, Berkshire (the oldest not over 3 months old); 1 Essex boar (not 2 months old).

Find the crop in good order; cotton, not a perfect stand, though generally speaking, good; corn, yellow, plowed too late after season.

JULY, 1856.

6. Champion left on 1st of July. He had during my absence so managed as to buy Maria, *he thought*, but being disappointed, attributes to me all blame, and swears "agin" staying here, and vows vengeance against me.

Employed Samuel Simms for 5 mos. at \$35 per month; we cook for him, finding him in meat, bread, coffee and sugar (2 lbs. of each per month), and doing his washing. He was employed yesterday, came here tonight to set in tomorrow.

12. I find vast numbers of worms eating grass and weeds, none on cotton.

31. 14 loads of fodder to date, 12,994 bundles.

AUGUST, 1856.

1. 3 loads of millet and 2 of fodder equal to 2,000 bundles.

5. Hauled in, on 3rd, 4th and 5th, 15 loads fodder, averaging 900, equal to 13,500—in all 26,494 bundles.

20. Started Jerome and his gang to the cotton field this evening. Fellows finished levee on 18th, making it higher than in the spring.

#### SEPTEMBER, 1856.

24. Hauled from river to date 21 loads of corn measuring about 1,000 bushels.

30. Hauled to date 84 loads of corn, measuring in all about 4,552 bushels.

#### NOVEMBER, 1856.

8. 3 Berkshires and 2 Chesters at depot, from Springfield, Ill.

10. Ginned and pressed to date 216 bales cotton, aggregating 88,632 lbs.

26. Wild oats grass from Stemfire, Clarksville, Ga.

#### DECEMBER, 1856.

22. Killed hogs to date, weighing 10,302 lbs.

23. Employed Mr. W. J. Sheets today to overseer. We to pay him \$400 per year, furnish him with 500 lbs. of meat, meal and something to ride on the farm. He is to take charge of all our plantation interests, little as well as great, stock, tools, sick, all, all; to keep negroes in place by night and by day. Should either party be dissatisfied, contract closes at once.

#### FEBRUARY, 1857.

1. Mr. J. C. Crowder, of Springfield, Ill., writes me as to the pigs bought of him: The small one, a pair, "Crowder" and "Mollie," are out of Old Superior, she by Windsor Castle 3rd, he by Cuff, he by Newberry (about 7 mos., 1st January, '57). G. dam by Careless, a full brother to Ben Shaker, G. G. dam by Reading. Got by Crowder's premium boar, Newberry. "Maggie," the other sow from him by a full brother to Old Superior, out of "a sow with the blood of Newberry and Reading predominating." The white pigs are Chester, with a dip of Grazier.

Crop for 1857:

Cotton: W. F., 120 acres; E. F., 60 acres; S. F., 130 acres; river F., 40 acres; total, 350 acres.

Corn: N. field, 120-125 acres; new ground in S. F., 30 acres; total, about 150 acres.

Potatoes: Center F., N. E. side, 10 acres.

Oats: Center F., W. side, 25 acres.

Millet and peas: Center F., 6 or 8 acres.

#### FEBRUARY, 1857.

1. Mr. Sheets keeps a regular account in an Affleck Plantation book. I only purpose to keep a memorandum.

#### MARCH, 1857.

2. Monday. Began to plant corn today with 4 sets of hands. Received sack of seed from Major P. Buford, Bastrop, Morehouse Parish, La.

15. Sunday. Received yesterday an Ayrshire bull calf from Gov. J. H. Hammond, calved in July, 1856. Hauled off last of '56 crop yesterday.

17. Cyrus and Charity with little John to carry plants, at the hedge, east side of E. field, setting one foot apart. Finished, and very rough. They did E. side of S. F. this morn., 720 feet, 240 yds., rough.

28. Set a gate at E. F. today. One at orchard last week (see March 2, 1846). Both of these posts, E. F., are butt end up; orchard, one each.

#### APRIL, 1857.

7. Planted Tampico beans, or frigolet beans, today.

9. Charity has a boy today.

11. Finished planting cotton today.

14. Sowed Japan and Calavanse peas today; also sugar cane (China) seed.

19. Received on 17th a few seed of Ridgeway's prolific corn from Dr. M. P. Sorsby, of Alabama (Forkland P. O.) for trial; also beans from Mr. Chrisman, of Monticello, Miss.

22. Planted today 50 hills of the Lawson melon. Planted Northern corn given me by Coulson.

## MAY, 1857.

1. Working roads from gin house near Alex. K. Montgomery's. 'So wet nothing can be done, and conclude to put out osage orange this eve.'

2. Finished road and avenue, getting out gate posts for S. F.

27. Mr. Samuel Simms employed yesterday and here today at 12, at \$35 per month, his own price. He is to "obey instructions."

Archie Montgomery died this morn. and buried this eve. Sweet boy, lovely boy, thou art gone to glory. We would not have thee here with us. Thou art happy now.

28. Got from Watson today 8 ewes and lambs, goats to Cashmere buck.

## JUNE, 1857.

2. My wedding day.

3. Zack A. Philips and J. C. Carter went to Vicksburg today.

6. Cyrus planted all hedge on east side from N. E. corner of pasture to creek. Jane, Charity and Ellen cleaning osage, about half done.

16. Planted in corn near pear orchard and lot a few Chinese peas from Dr. J. L. Gorree, Cummins, Ark. Rain, rain; I am so afraid of cotton on the creek.

26. Sitting by fire reading Kane's Expedition ("Arctic Explorations").

## AUGUST, 1857.

1. Home from examinations in Clinton today.

17. Received pig sow, supposed Suffolk, from Boston today, "Selina."

19. Capt. C. S. Barney brought me from Bordeaux, France, a splendid large sow, believed to be 8 mos. old, "Oceana."

## SEPTEMBER, 1857.

13. Alice Barney, second daughter of J. T. Blow, gave birth to a child this morning, "Mary Kells."

## NOVEMBER, 1857.

5. Neapolitan pigs received today.

DECEMBER, 1857.

7. Thomas Simms' hands came today to pick cotton at the charge of \$1.00 per day.

Received 2 Essex sow pigs on the 4th from G. W. Carry and of Mr. Wing, of Ga., these gentlemen, overseers, presenting them to me, aged 10 weeks middle of November.

Received 3 pigs, pair of Suffolks and Cumberland from Boston on the 5th of December, aged about 3 mos.

9. More rain must have fallen since 10 o'clock yesterday than on the occasion of the terrible havoc in May, 1840. Our loss must be immense, stock in the swamp, fencing, corn and cotton under water (perhaps 1,000 bushels of corn in jeopardy of being washed down and destroyed and 30 bales of cotton.) I will go to A. K. M.'s and know how the water is there.

21. Sowed today east side of turnip patch (apple orchard): Stamford's wild oats, millet musquit, wheat musquit, aromatic musquit from H. Parks, Oakland, Texas.

Charley Barney presents me with a boar, Suffolk.

27. Mary gave birth to a boy last night.

JANUARY, 1858.

30. Mr. Harmon came here to oversee, Christmas, 1857.

FEBRUARY, 1858.

13. Mr. Harmon and I agreed this week to pitch the crop as follows, though I am afraid of so much cotton, knowing so well that this will be a favorable season for grass, and that grass is *grass* here. Nevertheless I agree:

Cotton: E. field, 65 acres; S. field, 45 acres; W. field, 120 acres; river, 45 acres; total, 375 acres.

Corn: N. field, 110 acres; S. F. and new ground, 30 acres (15 to clear); experiment lot, 6 acres; total, 146 acres.

Potatoes: 10 acres.

Oats, wheat, etc., 65 acres.

Sugar cane, etc., 10 acres.

Peas for hogs, 12 acres.

This will make a total crop of 618 acres.

MARCH, 1858.

3. Received from J. C. Cowper, of La., 3 pigs (3 mos. old); from Alex. Carter, of Alabama, 1 sow pig. Received also from Alex Carter 1 pair of Sumatra game, from Thomas F. Davie, of S. C., one cock and 2 hens, game.

20. Planted sugar corn, Adams Early, and a variety of red Boston corn.

APRIL, 1858.

15. Counted cotton seed in a half pound, 2,004 seed equal to 100,200 seed in a bushel.

MAY, 1858.

"Pedigree of gray mare ("Minnie Grey") sold to Dr. Philips, of Mississippi.

"Dam by Margrave, G. D., a full blood mare brought from Virginia by Dr. Miller. Sire, Pilot, Jr., by Old Pilot, a full blooded Canadian.

"Signed by

"D. HEINSOLM & Co.

\*"Louisville, June 11, 1858.

"P. S.—Margrave, the horse here named, by Imp. Margrave and the great competitor of Miss Foote in New Orleans in 7:36."

DECEMBER, 1858.

10. Killed to date 82 hogs (counting the one Jim and Manuel stole), total weight dressed, 13,246 lbs.

Crop for 1859: We send five fair hands off, fellows, and never have rated hands over thirty. I am willing to rate 59 hands at, say, 27 hands, and will plant crop as follows:

Cotton: N. field, 100 acres; S. field, 175 acres; E. field, 40 acres; total, 315 acres.

Corn: W. field, 110 acres; river field, 40 acres; total, 150 acres.

Peas: S. of S. F., 30 acres.

JANUARY, 1859.

3. Mr. Littleberry Mitchell Wells set in today to oversee for us, at \$400 per year, we find him, as usual, in food and (prefer to) furnish him a horse. 6 fellows at levee today. One fellow and 3 women cleaning out before them. Not done picking cotton yet.

13. Finished weighing and ginning today—260 bales and over  $\frac{1}{2}$  bale more. Bob Smith's man John (blacksmith) worked here  $4\frac{1}{2}$  days last week and 2 this.

24. Neapolitan boar home from N. Y. on the 18th.

### MARCH, 1859.

3. Received 6 pigs from Boston today.

14. Up to this date there has been so much wet weather that we are behind with work. About 100 acres plowed in W. field, nearly all cotton seed hauled and scattered in W. and E. F., stalks and logs all out of the way, fencing all done except in the overflowed land, and generally too wet to travel on. Irish potatoes, over 4 bbls. planted on 12th, with leaves in the furrow, as usual.

15. Have broken up about 2 acres by corn house below pear O. for Lucerne. Setting out Bermuda in center field today with 2 or 3 women and children, having all of it prepared and perhaps half field now set out. I am more troubled today over work in crop than ever before; so little land can be plowed with so much water. Have been sowing grass seed today; have sown perhaps \$37 worth this year, and planted Bermuda largely.

25. Bedded out 15 bushels sweet potatoes yesterday.

29. Planted watermelons and pindars today, plowing over corn land, preparatory to planting tomorrow. Soaked corn in a brine of salt about one-half strong enough to float an egg, one-fourth pound saltpetre and one pint of copperas to 2 bushels with tar, one pint dissolved in hot water, and turned in.

### APRIL, 1859.

1. Jim is hauling out stable manure into Lucerne patch. 11 sows have now pigs, 86 pigs, 2 gilts having 5 and 2.

3. Jane died today, Sunday, half-past 3 P. M.—disease, pneumonia. Since I have been in Mississippi 5 grown negroes and no telling the number of younger ones—well, it is for man to submit.

4. Received the following seed from J. V. Jones, of Ga., through Col. J. J. Williams and planted as herein (see *Planter and Mechanic*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 60, 61): 1, large white rye;

2, California barley; 3, Nepal (?) barley; 4, Chilian wheat; 5, Turkish wheat; 6, Algerian wheat; 8, Black barley (all planted in front of house in nursery about the 28th March).

5. 9, Pettigrew corn; 10, white cob corn (in melon patch); 11, Jones red cob (with pindars, below stubble in N. F.); 12, rice pea; 13, Mush pea; 14, Six oaks; 15, Large and long pod black; 18, Housewife bean; 19, Jones's dwarf bean; 20, Dwarf okra.

Received grass roots from some one and planted today.

6. Received 4 Devons yesterday, 1 bull and 3 heifers—the bull for Mr. Henry.

14. Planted Goosey cotton in S. F., east side, next to hedge. Will plant select Royals on island, the seed from General Brandon below old levee.

15. Planted 12 seed of Penn's long staple in garden, north of the grave.

18. Hannah lost her young one last night. Mule also died last night—never saw a worse case of distemper.

19. Received today 2 seed of the "Loof" from Dr. John Dorr, Scottsville, N. Y.

22. Mary Kells 29 years old this day.

25. Finished planting cotton tonight. Sowed 2 acres of Lucerne today; also one bushel of osage orange seed and about  $\frac{1}{2}$  peck of Hungarian grass.

MAY, 1859.

8. "17 year locusts" heard, the first on Friday, 6th. Received from B. P. Johnston, Cor. Sec. N. Y. Agt. Soc., Martha Vineyard clover (planted in onion patch in garden).

Kells, Mrs. P., and "Tom"<sup>34</sup> left Vicksburg for "the North" on Wednesday, 12th.

25. Came home today from Convention in Canton. Received tonight 2 Devon calves from Baltimore; seed from L. W. Biggs, Wayne County, N. Y.; 2 seed Nectarine squash from Honolulu; *ne plus ultra* cucumber (beautiful as well as good); prolific pickle (smallest of all); Hubbard's squash.

27. Received 6 Essex sow pigs from R. Peters today.

<sup>34</sup>"Tom" or "Thomas" was the peculiar nickname which Dr. Philips gave to his only daughter, Mary. (See also entry under date January 12, 1860.)

JUNE, 1859.

2. Another anniversary of my wedding day. Spared yet a while longer by a merciful God, and so many blessings. May my life be more and more useful, and we all be more and more grateful and love our Father, our race and each other better and better.

Oats cut last week and out of the way. Corn not 2 feet high.

14. Putting out tobacco plants today and planting out potatoes.

15. Killed the bay mare, awful, shameful attention.

JULY, 1859.

24. Weighed today spotted pig, Cowper stock, pigged March 2 (134 days) and weighed 108½ lbs.; also Neapolitan pig, pigged February 9 (166 days), weighed 119 lbs.

AUGUST, 1859.

15. Mary's youngest, "Lawson," died August 15, at night.

18. Received a pair of Essex from Peters today.

SEPTEMBER, 1859.

8. This date in 1821, and about an hour before this, 7 o'clock, or between sundown and dark, I lost a father who never knew what it was to relax in the training of his children. He was *strict*, perhaps he erred, yet it was his belief it was for the best. If all fathers would labor thus our country would need less law.

13. Jerome and little fellows, Ellen, Hannah, Seton, and Betsey, not over 5 or 6 No. 1 hands cut down 30 acres of corn in E. F. and began to pile, in one day; piling yesterday and will be today. Jacob and Cyrus, ½ day getting poles, forks and putting up. Bill and Esau hauling and stacking; want to see labor engaged.

23. Mary had a boy babe tonight, Friday.

OCTOBER, 1859.

13. Received pony today from Ohio, "Hattie."

16. Turned into W. F. 89 head of hogs and pigs (64 hogs, 25 pigs).

26. Weighed Prince Rupert on 16th (208 lbs.) and put up to feed him. He weighed tonight 219 lbs.—10 days, 11 lbs. gained.

31. Lost my choice Devon by carelessness in leaving her all night in a fresh pea field.

### NOVEMBER, 1859.

10. Sowing varieties of grass seed, not done tonight, I fear: 1, Sainfoin; 2, Timothy; 3, Vernal (sweet); 4, Red top; 5, Green; 6, Agrostis Stolonifera fiorin (said to be a variety of white top); 7, Orchard; 8, Perennial ray (rye?); 9, Italian rye; 10, Meadow; 11, Blue.

### DECEMBER, 1859.

This night (December 27, 1859,) I anticipate to plant in 1860 as follows:

Cotton: N. field, 80 acres; river F., 45 acres; W. F., 120 acres; E. F. (west side), 30 acres; total, 270 acres.

Corn: So. field, 175 acres.

I will send off 2 more hands to factory, Jim and Manuel, and rate hands thus (Cyrus out to attend garden, etc.): 1, Jerome; 2, Prince; 3, Bill; 4, Esau; 5, Moses; 6, Paris; 7, David; 8, Anthony; 9, Amy; 10, Charity; 11, Emily; 12, Ann; 13, Fanny; 14, Milly (1st); 15, Mary; 16, Amanda; 17, Hannah; 18, Betsey; 19, Milly; 20, Jacob; 21, Ellen; total, 20 full hands. The following half hands (under 15 years): 1, William; 2, Zack; 3, Caesar; 4, Cicero; 5, John; 6, Jimmy; 7, Sambo; 8, Richmond; 9, Louisa; total, 4½ hands.

Will send Tom, Ben, Isaac and Cordelia out to keep out of mischief, though too small to carry water.

Old Nanny to help Easter with children and to raise chickens.

I add Wyatt and Hardy together with Rosetta and Scott, will make 2 hands more, Hardy being rather—.

This will make, in all, say 26 hands, at *utmost*.

31. Pork killed to date, 10,258 lbs.

Inheritance of Mary Philips from the estate of William Montgomery (Lot No. 4, January 5, 1860): Philip, \$1,300; Rosetta, \$900; Scott, \$650; Spencer, \$500; Philip, Jr., \$300 (all given to Mary Kells); Wyatt, \$700; Jerry, \$800; "Fits" Hardy, \$25; Montgomery, \$1 (gone off and stayed, too); Mule, Topsy, \$150;

Mule, Mike, \$140; carriage horse, \$125; Dolly (in 1830), \$800; 200 acres (in 1845), \$800; Jacob (in 1856), about \$750; 2 mules, 1 horse, 2 cows, \$320; cash, \$500; cash, \$500. Total amount received from 1829 to 1860, about \$10,000.

Copy of valuation Mr. Montgomery gave up to Mary, 1845: Dolly, \$700; Jacob, \$700; Cordelia, \$500; Jane, \$450; Piano, \$300; Horse, \$100; Cash, \$50; Land, \$2,000; Mule, \$50; Mare and colt, \$100. Total amount to 1845, \$4,950.

#### JANUARY, 1860.

1. Mr. Simms is here tonight, ready to set in in the morn. to oversee at \$500 per year.

5. Mr. Montgomery estate of negroes and mules arrived today —9 negroes and 2 mules.

Received today from L. F. Allen, Black Rock, N. Y., 1 bull and 2 heifers for Mr. R. Sively, Raymond; 4 heifers for self; 2 bull calves for sale.

12. Getting our portion of Mr. M.'s estate (negroes) at home on the 9th, Mrs. P. sent a part to occupy the east end of overseer's house. I did not know it. Mr. Samuel Simms, without asking or waiting for an explanation, left. I tried to tell him I knew not that they were here until he did, and they moved or moving in, but he cursed and rode off. Just then I would like to have weighed 160 lbs. and been forty years old. I would have taught him a lesson of how a gentleman should conduct himself. He left without ceremony, and, to say the least, with impertinence and insolence. "Let him went."

Kells and Thomas<sup>as</sup> left for home this afternoon; came down on the 9th and though much ugly weather we had a pleasant and delightful time.

28. Mr. Gordon came down to oversee Saturday, 21st. Set in 23rd at \$400, he finding himself except in meal.

#### FEBRUARY, 1860.

11. Sally (Canadian), Dr. Kells' pony, died tonight. Hard, hard.

13. One of the Devons from Allen, "Lady Kate" 4th, died tonight.

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<sup>as</sup>See footnote under date May 17, 1859.

29. Rain yesterday put up creek, and all hands at levee today, and saved it, though required attention and work.

MARCH, 1860.

3. Devon bull from Allen died. Hard, hard, discouraging.
21. Cyrus and Amy thus far employed about gardens. We have cut down nearly all in flower garden, the winter killing roses, cape Jasmines, etc., to the earth in very many instances.
24. Hannah gave birth to a boy about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  o'clock.
26. Maggie Carter and Henry left us for home. In Jackson until Friday, 30th, when they start for Alabama.

APRIL, 1860.

3. Began to plant corn today with 3 sets of hands.
9. Began planting cotton today, 5 hands.
16. Planted 7 varieties of squash today.
20. Flower seed sown this morning: 1, Flos or Pheasant Eye (*Adonis Mirata*) ; 2, Double Balsam, or Lady Slipper (*Impatims Balsamea*) ; 3, Mignonette (*Reseda Odorata*) ; 4, Chinese Hollyhock Double (*Althea Sinensis*) ; 5, Carnation Pink (*Dianthus Caryophilus*) ; 6, China Aster, extra (*Aster Sinensis*) ; 7, Catch Fly, Lobell's (*Silene Armesia*) ; 8, Canterbury Bell, white and blue (*Campanula Media*) ; 9, Portulaca, mixed (*Portulaca Grandiflora*) ; 10, Nasturtium (*Tropcolum Atrosanguina*) ; 11, Scarlet Morning Glory (*Ipomoea Coccinia*) ; 12, Convolvulus, Major; 13, Yellow Annual Chrysanthemum (*Chrysanthemum Caronarius*) ; 14, Phlox (*Phlox Drummondii*) ; 15, Pansy (*Viola Tricolor*) ; 16, Columbine, double (*Aquilegia Vulgaris*) ; 17, Pansy, prize varieties ; 18, Verbena, mixed (*Verbena Hybrida*) ; 19, Aster Peony, flowered; 20, Carnations (*Dianthus Prundectus*) ; 21, Double Hollyhock, from prize flowers (*Althea Rosea*). Last five from B. K. Bliss, Springfield, Mass.

MAY, 1860.

1. I find this morn. the "Amsterdam blue grass" received July 7, 1859, from W. A. Lewis, Lima, Tenn., is growing finely. Orchard and blue grasses in bloom. Rescue almost dry enough to cut.

2. Cleaning out Avenue road and putting up fence around clover lot in front, having finished planting cotton yesterday. All hands in corn today. Planted the new millet from L. Bartlett, of Massachusetts, today in nursery.

6. Mr. Gordon gives today list of hogs: Brood sows, 26; gilts for brood sows, 10; boars (4 old and 2 pigs), 6; killing hogs, 7; shoats, 21; pigs, 17; total, 137 head; bad chance for meat for '61, but say 9 half-blood Neapolitan gilts added to brood sows, making 35. I can spay off ten, then 17 and 21 with the list pigs; say we can kill 60. We *must feed high*.

7. All hands in corn, plows and hoes. Was in four days last week and getting on, it seems, slowly. I must see to it.

8. Been round corn pretty generally. The stand is not good, I think perhaps average  $\frac{1}{4}$  loss; now replanting and transplanting, but I fear too careless. Jerome is totally unfit to direct. It will not do to trust him.

11. Poor Minnie Grey died today. Thus have my efforts and fancies so often gone.

#### JUNE, 1860.

2. My wedding day. How fast passes time! Spared yet, and how ungrateful! Blessings are around and about me and not prized. They are here!! Foolish man, were they afar off, they would be chased. Indeed in my way, I enjoy life—books, papers, pen, friends. But alas! that which I have prized and would above all—a sympathizing, confidential friend, one who could feel, one could not intentionally wound. Well, all will soon be over, a few short years!

9. Very dry, water very scarce; stock in want; squash, cucumber and melon vines are suffering and dying. Gardens are showing the drought; even grass in gardens and pastures is dying. Rain, rain, how good it would be!

10. Sunday. This morning about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  o'clock it began to rain very lightly, and continued improving until we had a very nice, light season, I think. How pretty everything looks today.

22. Emily had a boy 8 o'clock this morn.

23. Fanny, Newfoundland bitch, 8 pups.

## JULY, 1860.

1. I have about 300 acres in cotton and not over 100 to 150 is over knee high.

12. Wyatt dropped in the field this eve, about 6 o'clock, and died in an hour. Whether from heat, sunstroke, or fit, I know not. Mr. Gordon did not go out until after 4 o'clock. I am positive he was not with hoe hands  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour all afternoon. The hottest day this season.

16. We cleaned up yesterday and today 30 bushels of Hungarian and 36 bushels of rescue grass seed.

17. Put linn bark for collars into water this morn.

20. Had to turn cattle into swamp, no water.

24. We have been compelled to send all dry cattle and mules to the swamp—water dried up; Devons sent to corn field; hauling water.

## AUGUST, 1860.

2. Fellows getting rails for a new cow lot and a new pasture lot in east pasture, hauling spokes and plowing for turnips.

8. Mary's son, Richard, died tonight. Oh! my losses almost make me crazy. God alone can help.

12. Hauled off 10,782 spokes.<sup>28</sup>

24. Amy gave birth to an infant, very feeble, apparently dead when born, but revived, yet so feebly that it died during the day.

## SEPTEMBER, 1860.

7. Cyrus ran away yesterday afternoon and went to Gibbes', as usual, but Jack,<sup>27</sup> instead of harboring, as before, caught him and, while a negro had gone to Mr. Rob Moss to get a pass to bring him home, he attempted to kill himself by cutting his throat. Brought home last night about midnight, cut about 2 inches long. I did not see it nor him. He told Mr. Moss he

<sup>28</sup>Dr. Philips furnished spoke timber for the wagon factory which was operated in Jackson by his brother, Zack Philips. This factory was owned by the Philips' brothers.

<sup>27</sup>Jack Akin was a slave belonging to Mr. Gibbes.

could not please me in putting up gate posts and I had threatened making overseer give him 500 lashes—all of which is a lie.<sup>38</sup>

OCTOBER, 1860.

10. Hauled to date 63 loads of corn, measuring 2,520 bushels. Received from Mr. R. V. Thompson, Nebraska City, Nebraska, the following seed: Nebraska millet; pasture grass; meadow grass No. 3, a fine meadow grass; meadow grass; barley grass; creeper; durable pasture grass; Nebraska blue stem meadow grass; prairie flower; beautiful flower; shrub No. 1.

NOVEMBER, 1860.

9. Sowed 2 bushels of rye by pear orchard.  
 16. Sowed 2 bushels of wheat along side rye and nearly one peck of wild timothy from Col. M.  
 30. Killed today 412 lbs. pork.

DECEMBER, 1860.

1. Sowed red and white clover, with timothy in lot adjoining negro garden, intending to sow orchard also, but rained again.  
 3. Took up all cabbage and bedded out. Took up turnips, cut off top and root and preparing to bank as potatoes.  
 5. Killed 3,269 lbs. of pork today.  
 8. Cut and marked 22 pigs for meat, including 2 sows, not spayed—all in stock mark; 24 head and 2 Berkshire sows.  
 16. Killed since 5th 2,399 lbs. pork and one wild beef, 758 lbs. Crop for 1861. Being uncertain as to disposition of hands, have

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<sup>38</sup>Cyrus seems to have been a desperate and dangerous character. Col. W. A. Montgomery, of Edwards, Miss., gives the following account of the closing incident in the career of this infamous character: Dr. Philips fled from Log Hall, May 17 or 18, 1863, upon the approach of the Federal army under General Grant on its way to Vicksburg. Cyrus unexpectedly encountered a Confederate force under Captain Russell which he took to be Federal troops. He conducted them to the place where Dr. Philips had hidden his valuables and suggested that they assist him in capturing his old "marster" then in hiding in the woodland near by. The Confederates loaded a wagon with some provisions which Cyrus had shown them and ordered him to drive beyond the Federal lines, across Fourteen-mile creek. When they had no further use for him, they left him dead on the bank of this creek, a penalty which they inflicted in punishment of his treachery to his master.

not yet really satisfied myself as to crop, though I think as follows: 270 acres in cotton; 250 acres, or nearly, in corn, oats, millet, etc.

## JANUARY, 1861.

9. Received 3 pigs from Mr. P. Morris, of Chester county stock, and this morn. Cyrus in moving from overseer's lot killed boar. He says it was well and lively when he started with it, and when he shut up in stall. He took sows down and then boar was dead—very probable.

11. Killed this morn. 1,774 lbs. pig pork, making this season 10,662 lbs.

17. 55 years old this night. Wonderful that one so frail in youth, a sickly boy until grown, and yet I am here. So many of the stout and able-bodied of my youth and manhood acquaintance gone, I am preserved. Mysterious are thy ways, O God! May I be better and better as I pass down the years, more devoted to my Saviour. God help me.

21. 13 kids before Christmas, now alive, some 5 or 6 we know died.

26. Ellen had a boy baby the night of the 26th.

29. Busy in flower garden, laying off and setting out.

## FEBRUARY, 1861.

14. Been busy grafting and resetting grafts for a few days.

## MARCH, 1861.

4. David sowing grass seed in lot at pool. Varieties of grass seed sent me from various sources, though principally by Mr. R. O. Thompson, of Nebraska City, Neb., a few from Mr. Howard, of Georgia: Handy Grass; Texas Grass (from Macedon, N. Y.); Meadow Grass (moist location); Barley Grass; Pasture Grass; Bottom Land Oats; Ray Grass; Nebraska Blue Stem Meadow; a fine Meadow Grass; Durable Pasture Grass; Nebraska Millet; Millet Grass and Canary Grass; No. 1 Texas; No. 2 Texas; No. 3 Texas; Long Grass; Agrostis.

6. Sowed all the above today; No. 6 "*Uniola*" (see *Southern*

*Cultivator*, p. 52, 1861). Mr. Gideon Lincecum<sup>39</sup> says "It is a growing wonder."

30. Received from J. M. Thorlum, N. Y., the following seed (a part I procured to see and know what they were and a part with a desire to test): *Spergula Pilifer* (a new article for lawns, said in the English papers to be prettier than any grass, must be protected until it has roots to stand sun, transplant); Alsike Clover; Scarlet Trefoil; Yellow Trefoil; Slendergrass (*Agrostis Tenella*); Pretty Bent Grass (*Argrostis Pulchella*); New Grass (*Eragrostis Namaguinsis*); Love Grass (*Eragrostis Elegans*); Feather Grass (*Stipa Pinnata*).

APRIL, 1861.

1. Spayed 27 pigs and shoats today.
6. Began to plant cotton at river on 4th with 2 planters, 3 yesterday about 9 o'clock, and 4 about 11 o'clock. They had pretty near 30 acres planted. This is insufferable. Jacob was 4½ days planting 30 acres of corn. Negroes don't work.
20. Sowed in flower garden circle, east side: In center, Perfected Tomato; 1st row next center, "Frenella Hialgelii (a new and rare evergreen tree"); next row *Dianthus Laciniatus*; next and outside, Verbena, mixed.
- Hardy<sup>40</sup> found in the spring by the corn house when I came home Thursday noon. Mr. Gordon said he was missing; suppose he stooped down for water and fell in.
25. I purpose leaving in the morning. My health and mind absolutely need rest and recreation—tired of being sick here, and everybody tired of me. I start for Montgomery (my Sister's) and Pensacola. My daughter goes along to my sister's, and I'll try to take her with me, and perhaps a few weeks on sea there

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<sup>39</sup>An interesting autobiography of Gideon Lincecum will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 443-519. Lincecum's "Life of Apushimataha" will be found in *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 415-485.

<sup>40</sup>Hardy was an unfortunate cripple who had fits. His crippled condition was caused by a burn which he received by falling into the fire while having one of his fits.

may help her too. And I may perhaps do good in waiting on sick."<sup>4</sup>

#### JUNE, 1861.

1. Returned home today.
10. Sowed 5 acres of Hungarian Grass seed in rescue patch.
16. Cutting Hungarian sowed in April. Not enough sowed to land, the land too poor, crop will be very light. Drought of January injured it.
21. Hauled to date 15 loads of Hungarian grass and 2 of Stanford's. Weighed 1 load of Hungarian on 20th, 2,236 lbs. Amy lost a babe, 20th, in morn.—her eighteenth child.
22. Hauled in 2 loads of Hungarian—17 in all.

#### JULY, 1861.

26. The millet sown April 24, cut on 24th and 25th. Came home today bringing Lucy Adams home and sending her below Cayugo.

#### AUGUST, 1861.

11. Quit pulling fodder on Friday night—suppose 10,000 bundles.
29. Charity had a girl babe on 29th.

#### SEPTEMBER, 1861.

2. Monday morning. Charity's babe is dead. Nothing known of it until death announced. Inquired of it 3 times daily and late last night, Eliza bragging on its improving so fast and getting on so well. Only weighed 3 lbs. and possibly only a 7 months' child. Oh! it is terrible on poor me, all to attend to and yet all the time in pain, both body and mind.
20. The rain of the season. Rain gage 2 8-10 inches for yesterday and today.

<sup>4</sup>Reference is here made to the Mississippi soldiers who had been sent to Pensacola on the first expedition out of the State in the War of Secession. See McFarland's "A Forgotten Expedition to Pensacola in January, 1861," in *Publications of Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 15-23.

OCTOBER, 1861.

19. In 24 hours from yesterday A. M. 3 inches rain.

Had some 112 or 114 hogs from 5 months to 13 months up to fatten, feeding with 4½ bushels cotton seed and 1 of meal cooked. Been up 3 weeks and dying; 5 died last night, others sick. A fatality attends me through life, estrangement of wife and child<sup>42</sup> and yet friends *appear* to stick close. I had lost 5 hogs in a week and ordered last eve to cut off all from the cotton seed, and 5 died last night.

25. Mr. Wilkinson came here Sept. 5, bringing wife, 4 horses and 4 dogs. 1 horse died next morn. He left with 2 horses and 2 dogs on Oct. 24th, leaving his wife here and anxious I should take a mare at \$225. I would not most positively agree to board the whole at \$100 per month. I am no tavern keeper, and want a quiet home and not the bluster and annoyance of dogs and stud horses yelling and barking.

NOVEMBER, 1861.

9. Finished hauling corn this morn., and suppose my crop will amount to fully 4,000 bushels.

14. Turned into corn field on the 9th, 92 head of meat hogs. On hand at same date: 25 brood sows, 6 old boars and 113 pigs (weaned and sucking). I have 28 head of common cattle, 10 Devon cows and heifers, 7 bulls and bull calves, 1 Ayrshire bull, 4 May stock and 7 common sucking calves—total, 57 head. I also have 53 head of goats. Do not know the number of my sheep.

18. Mr. Gordon left today with all “bag and baggage.” I will do him justice though the heavens fall. He is the best overseer

<sup>42</sup>This estrangement is said to have been caused by the bad treatment of Mrs. Philips' negroes, which she inherited from her father's estate. (See entry under date January 2, 1860, and June 9, 1862.) Dr. Philips had a reputation among his neighbors of being a strict disciplinarian in dealing with his slaves. This diary does not substantiate such a view, and the editor believes the fault lay with his overseers.

William Montgomery's negroes were very kindly treated. They were always invited to family prayers, but not forced to attend, and they frequently led in prayer in the family circle. Col. W. A. Montgomery, grandson of William Montgomery, says, “Some of them offered the most fervent and eloquent prayers I ever heard, praying for their master's family and for their fellow slaves and their families.”

I ever had, and more like poor Armstrong in his devotion to my interests.

21. Mr. Wilkinson came for his wife yesterday, and all left today.

29. Put up today 30 head of largest and best hogs in hog house and hope to make them average 200 lbs. If we can feed for 30 days, we may make it.

#### DECEMBER, 1861.

2. Sowed  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel red clover seed on wheat south of orchard (12 acres); 1 peck of rye, north of large pool and lot south of hog house; balance in woods pasture. Sowed orchard grass, 12 bushels, in the wheat lot today; blue grass,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  bushels. Go tomorrow on woods lot north of pool, now in rye.

13. Sowed a few oats that Bob pocketed from a splendid head in garden.

18. Some one killed a pig in fattening pen last night or this morn., skull split open with axe. Cleaned and weighed 110 lbs., about an average size of 57 now on hand. I hope to get them by February to 135 or 150 each.

24. Killed yesterday and salted down today 14 hogs, weighing 3,188 lbs. (227 $\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. each).

31. Killed 7 hogs, 1,284 lbs., average 183 lbs. Have killed in full to date 4,472 lbs. I put up 30 for 6,000 lbs. and have killed 21 averaging 213 lbs. each.

#### JANUARY, 1862.

9. Mr. Gordon wants to leave, sick and unfit for business. Of course, I will not constrain him. As I recorded 18 Nov., '61, my honest convictions, so do I now. Since his return here, say last of March, he has been grossly delinquent, negligent and inattentive. He has done me more harm than good. I regret it so much, having been between him and the fury of my family. Whether he did deserve or not, God knows, but he has not returned me good for good.

I settled with him in full and he left. After leaving I learned of his wife's ordering Cyrus to reserve for her the 2 best fleeces of grown sheep and the 2 best lamb fleeces, and that he took away

last fall "a bag packed full of wool" and "had the negroes taking the burrs out for a long time." Much, much do I regret his course. Whether deceived or not last and year before, I know not, but I saw and know this year that he has acted very much *a traitor to a friend*.

JANUARY, 1862.

1. Affairs are in such condition, whether as to national or my own, that I am not certain what I should do. If cotton cannot be sold, certainly no rational man will increase the quantity; for it will only reduce the value of that now made. If Zack Philips can pay all debts incurred by him and myself for his factory, I care not to plant cotton unless I can buy of Dr. Kells the husbands, wives, and families of my negroes, he having taken away his negroes and thus broken up the partnership, which, whether I am willing or anxious to do or not, he moved in it.

I have now at home 6 men, 6 women and 11 children, one 8 years old, and though some of those grown are not full hands of themselves, yet may rate as 12 hands, and children will save the grown and by their work may make three more. And thus I can rate *perhaps* 15 hands—though as one is to cook, perhaps 14, even 13.

3. I am and have been sowing grass seed in E. pasture, in all lots and in pear orchard. Have 12 acres in wheat, between gin and orchard gate; 4 acres in wheat in E. field; 30 acres in rye; 6 acres in oats in E. field; and 4 or 5 acres in oats, W. of pear trees. I think to plant all plantation in corn and potatoes.

4. Been working on levee 3 days and not a beginning. Paris sowing grass seed in E. woods pasture, having sown cow lots. Have sown now, wheat patch, 12 acres, pear orchard and lots.

6. Killed 16 hogs this eve weighing 2,709 lbs., 200 lbs. for self, 250 lbs. for Mr. Hillman in Clinton, Miss.<sup>43</sup> Sawing spoke timber, burning brush in E. pasture until hog killing.

<sup>43</sup>Rev. Walter Hillman came to Mississippi from Massachusetts in 1854 to fill the chair of Mathematics and Natural Science in Mississippi College. In 1856 he resigned this position to become President of Central Female Institute, now Hillman College, which position he held until his death in 1894. He was also President of Mississippi College from 1867-1873. He was prominently identified with Mississippi Baptists for a period of forty years. A sketch of his life will be found in Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, Vol. I, pp. 932-934.

7. Mary Kells came down on Monday, 30th December, and I hoped and prayed she had come as my child, as an angel of mercy for peace and to give me joy and comfort in the decline of life. But alas! she came only as a clerk or agent for Dr. Kells for the women, as they had been hired to asylum and were to set in first day of Jan., wanting me to keep all the children and a woman, Emily preferred, to attend them. Thus I was expected to watch one nurse, feed and attend to some 10 or 15 young negroes, and a woman to sit in quarter, when they knew I had old Nanny, who had watched only children. I said only that Emily was least fitted, that she was cross, filthy and inattentive. But I went out and ordered Jerome to get women and children ready and all should go together, saying to Mary Kells that for Harris' sake I would take Charley and attend to him, if it would be agreeable. No response made and yet my orders countermanded, as usual by her and her mother when they see fit. I thought all was gone until those who had gone (parting) returned and then I found the children had not gone. The fellows being hired to Zack Philips, I kept here for spokes, hog killing and my work generally until today and with them sent the children and the nurse, Emily. I have sent Jacob with Mary Kells' stock, as she requested through Zack Philips.

I claim when Dr. K. left I had a right to my land and as much corn and fodder, mules, stock, tools, gears, etc., as he found here; for as true as God reigns I only gave to have my child at home and all of them knew it—my wife, Dr. K., and Mary K. I do not believe the stock, etc., are as valuable this day as when he moved here. I mean the mules, cows, tools, gear, etc., etc., belonging to the plantation, not embracing my mares or Devons that I have bought and paid for since he left, but even including them, not as valuable. I do not want all the mules, and will select mine, have all priced, and send him such as I do not want and wait the results of a suit against me by my son-in-law and daughter.

11. Cleaning up east woods pasture, sawing and hauling spokes. Sowed about  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of Lucerne yesterday, and 2 rows oats in clover lot.

14. Killed 20 pigs weighing 2,880 lbs.

MARY PHILIPS,

Born August 31, 1809.

Died January 25 at 8:30 P. M.

We were engaged March 21st, 1827, and married June 22d, 1829. Thus am I left alone. From summer of '24 or '25, has that woman been my polar star, the bright particular spot. Alone! Alone! Oh, God!

I open a new page. And, oh, how sad is my prospect! God alone can order, I must submit and wait my time. I think I can see God, the Sovereign, not alone in love and mercy, but in his afflictions. I love and yet I tremble. Oh, how lonely am I! My wife gone, gone—her whom I adored, gone. Worlds can never make up the loss. Oh, how lonely. My daughter, that cherished one, that idol of my young and my old heart is weaned off, and, oh God, she sues me!

29. Sowed yesterday "Landreth's Extra Early" peas, Early Frame, Champion of England, Large Marrowfat. Preparing land for plowing and manuring for a little patch of potatoes. Plowed Bermuda grass land in N. F., now at river, having plowed in pear orchard twice to kill Bermuda, plowed for balance of Lucerne and sowed.

31. Killed this morn. for Eager, 1,015 lbs. pork (8 pigs under 9 months); for Zack, 684 lbs. (5 pigs); 3,564 lbs. for Zack; 5,000 or about for self, equals 8,564 lbs. I can let Zack have nearly 500 lbs.

FEBRUARY, 1862.

15. I left home on 7th for Jackson, was obliged to see my child, was there until Sunday eve. I believe she *would* do all a daughter should. May God give her courage to do her duty in spite of all to the contrary. She has written me and she met me as my child. God spare her and forgive!

Plowing Bermuda grass in N. pasture to sow down grasses—all lot except rye. Pear orchard plowed and replowed, harrowed, etc., to kill Bermuda and to sow in clover and the grasses.

25. One month only has passed since I lost her I loved so well when I was a boy. Time hangs so heavy; it is so lonely. If life

is to be thus, it will be hard punishment. God will bind up the broken heart. In him I trust.

## MARCH, 1862.

7. Returned from Clinton today.
27. Thanks, thanks, thanks, for a letter from Dr. K. God grant I be not too much elevated.
30. Mr. Gordon moved down yesterday, 29th March, no price agreed upon, but I proposed to pay all that I was able to pay to have an overseer; for I could not attend to my business. He proposed Mr. J. Scott, his brother-in-law, and said I could not afford to pay more than \$300 to him, as he was a single man. I could, of course, afford more to him, but as Mrs. G. will do me much service in poultry, milk matters and a general help, it will amend for hers and the children's food. Besides, I would give Mr. G. more than any other man. I, therefore, conclude to pay the \$300 certain and even \$400, if my success with stock will justify me.

## APRIL, 1862.

4. After bedding out potatoes select from Withers and 2 bbls. of beautiful potatoes from asylum sent me by Dr. Kells, we planted about 15 bushels in ridge on 1st April, then began corn with 4 sets hands on the 2nd, after dinner.

5. Planting pindars today, will plant about  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel for seed and eating, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel among corn in same row for stock. Borrowed today a bale of cotton, 470 lbs., from A. K. M. for hospital mattresses and 80 lbs. on the 19th.

11. Enterprise<sup>“</sup> came today.

## MAY, 1862.

16. Meat hogs about 10 months old, 14; 4 months old, 16; boars, 17; sows, 28; pigs in east pasture, 16; brood sows, 23; young sows, 28; total, 142. After cholera I had only 40 left.

<sup>“</sup>Enterprise was purchased from Mr. Waring, of Georgia. Miss Waring, of Boston, Mass., has an excellent oil painting of this beautiful animal, made before he passed into the hands of Dr. Philips.

JUNE, 1862.

1. Amy gave birth to a girl yesterday, "Rebecca," 19th child.
2. This is my wedding day. Alone, now! So lonely! Though a house full of strangers, yet I am alone. No fond friends to whom I can unburden my soul. No! No! alone! I still have, and may I never cease thanking God, a brother, a devoted brother. Oh, God, I thank thee. I once had a child as devoted, as true, as one could find, but alas! she has gone too. My wife dead, my child an alien to my home! God give me strength to bear and submit.
28. I direct Paris to plant field beans this eve on the creek, 3 or 4 to each stalk of corn. Will try them.

JULY, 1862.

16. Charity died night of 15th.
- Never saw the prospects before of want of corn so alarming as now. My W. field, 125 acres in corn, or about that, cannot yield 10 bushels of corn per acre. I learned from a man that 100 miles south and as far as Montgomery, Ala., it is all thus.
24. Little Milly had a girl on 24th about 1½ o'clock, named "Venus."

AUGUST, 1862.

15. Fodder pulling yesterday and today.
23. Henry and Caroline married tonight.

OCTOBER, 1862.

27. Venus, Milly's babe, died this morn.—whooping cough.
29. Left home for Carolina, to bring a wife home.
30. Gathered 10 bushels pindars.

NOVEMBER, 1862.

7. Amy's babe, Rebecca, died— whooping cough.
26. When I returned found corn all gathered and well put away. I suppose about 3,000 bushels have been housed (270 acres). Negroes by carelessness of fire in field, burnt up nearly ½ of fence around south field. Altogether everything better than I expected.

Returned home on 25th. Left home on Thursday, 30th Oct. Married in Columbia, So. Ca., on Tuesday eve the 11th day of November, 1862, by Rev. Wm. Martin, M. W. Philips to Miss Rebecca Tillinghast Wade, eldest daughter of Thomas H. and Rebecca Wade.

### DECEMBER, 1862.

14. George Law<sup>45</sup> returned today from Georgia with the following stock: 3 fillies, 1 belonging to George W. Gibbs, of Raymond; 1 bull and 2 heifers, Devons, from William Sumner, of Pomonia, S. C. (\$150 each); 1 bull and 2 heifers, Devons, from J. B. Jones, of Herndon, Ga.; an imported jack from J. B. Jones (\$850); 1 grade Brahmin (?) bull from Col. R. Peters, of Atlanta, Ga. (\$250); 8 Essex gilts, near 12 months old, from Col. Peters (\$50 each); 4 Essex sow pigs, 4 months old from Col. Peters (\$25 each); 1 boar and 2 sows, Essex, from William Summers of S. C. (\$40 in full).

31. Goats, 24 old and 23 kids, today.

Mr. Gordon neglected my business so much that I have not made as much corn with full 11 hands, not counting children and all, as I have made with 10 hands and a full crop of cotton too.

### JANUARY, 1863.

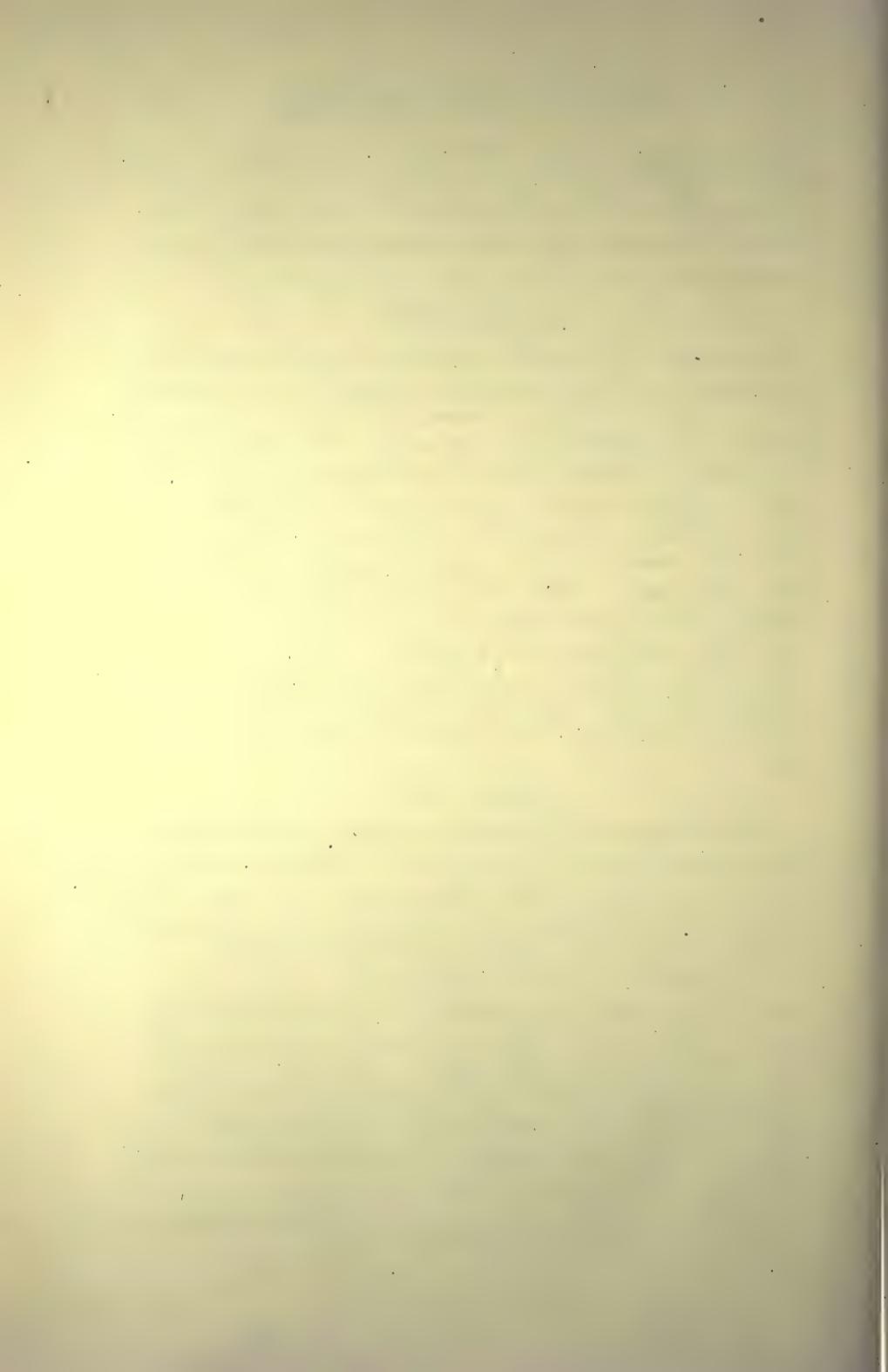
Prices of articles in war time: Flour, \$75 per barrel; molasses, \$75 per barrel; sugar, 22c to 24c by the hogshead; pork, 25c per pound; salt, \$20 per bushel; linsey (plain), \$3; linsey (tinted), \$5; cotton cloth (heavy), \$1; shoes, \$7½ to \$20; sole leather, \$1 to \$2.75 per lb.; Flour (March 10th, \$105 per barrel.)

17. My birthday; 57 years old this day.

25. He who cannot love a departed one, does not love the living one. The departed had virtues that the purest and sweetest and best of her sex might rejoice in possessing. While life lasts, in joy or in sorrow, I must remember her whom I called mine June 2, 1829, and whom God took to himself January 25, 1862. All in all, I lost a treasure. She had her faults, but great minds alone can have faults to be great.

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<sup>45</sup>George Law was a free negro. Col. W. A. Montgomery, of Edwards, Miss., says that "he was the best negro in the world."



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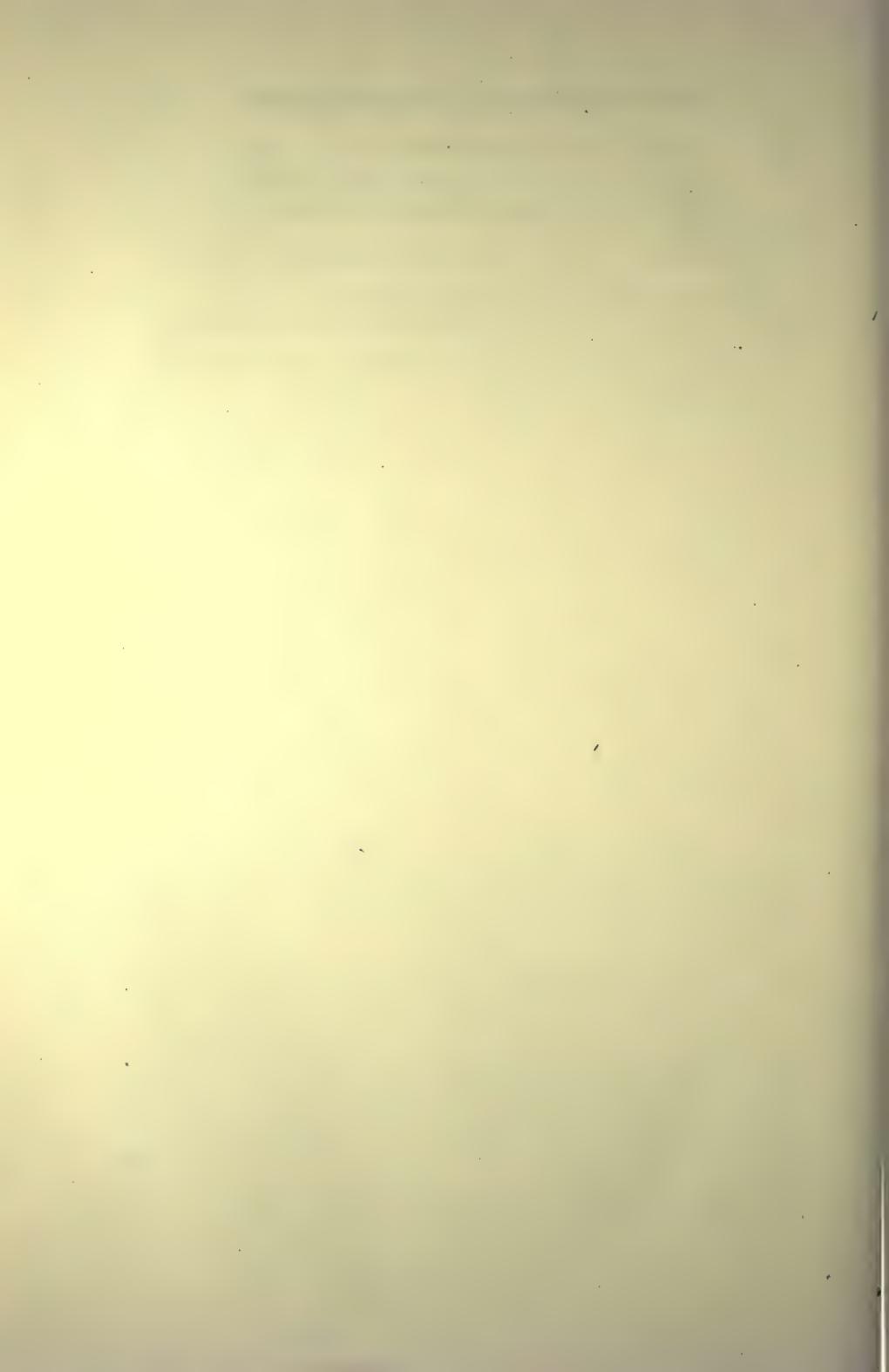
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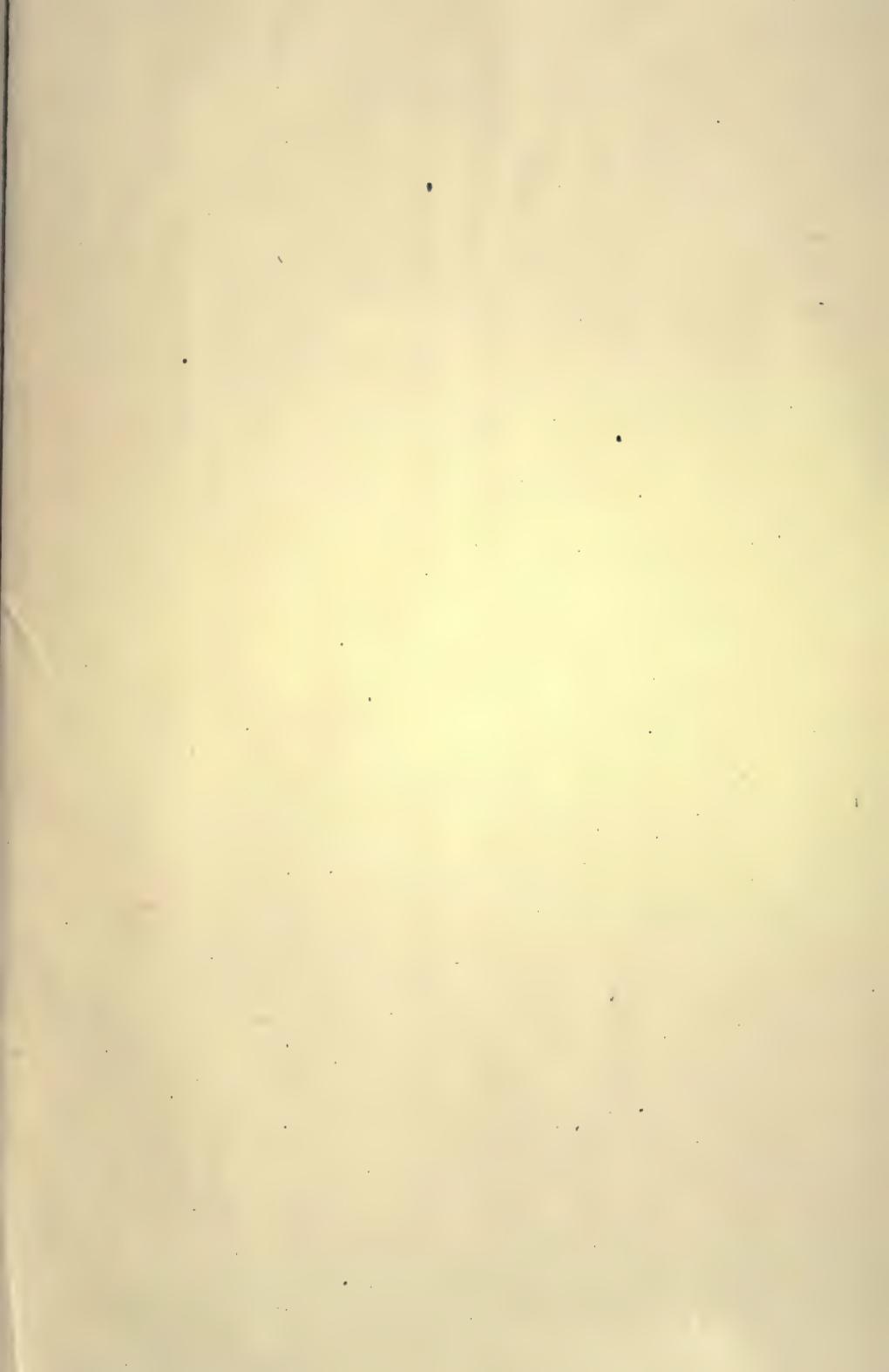
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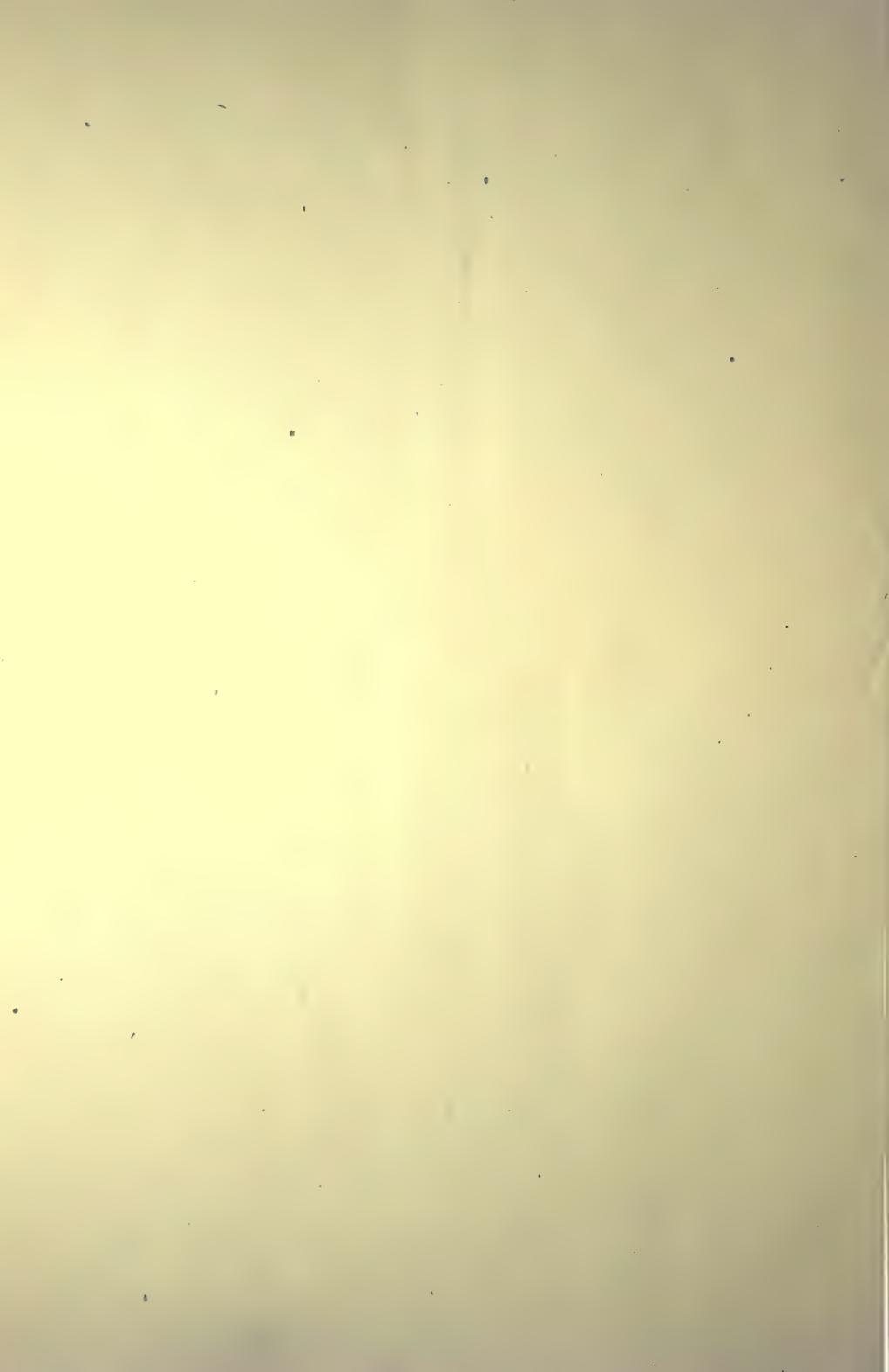
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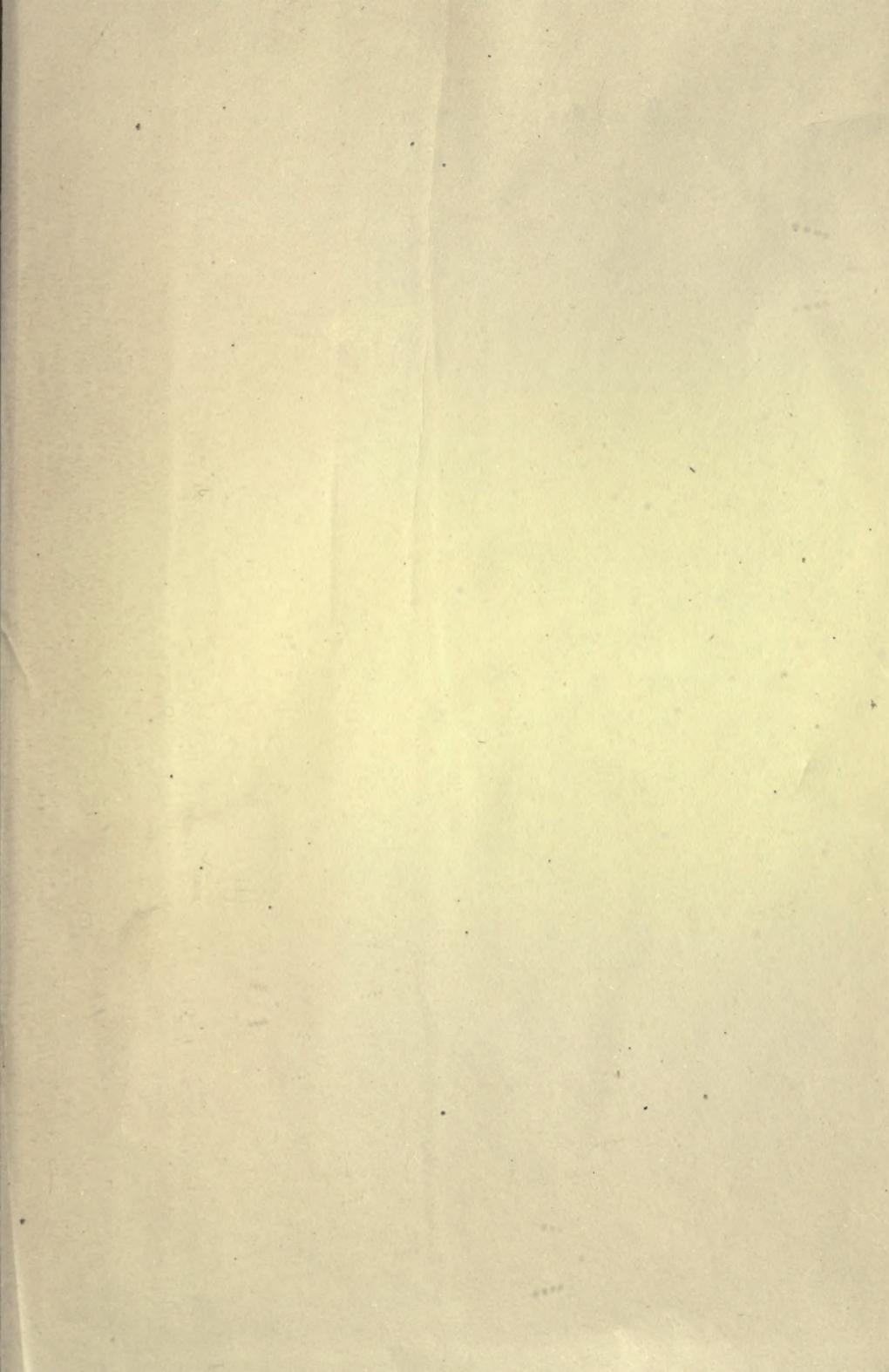
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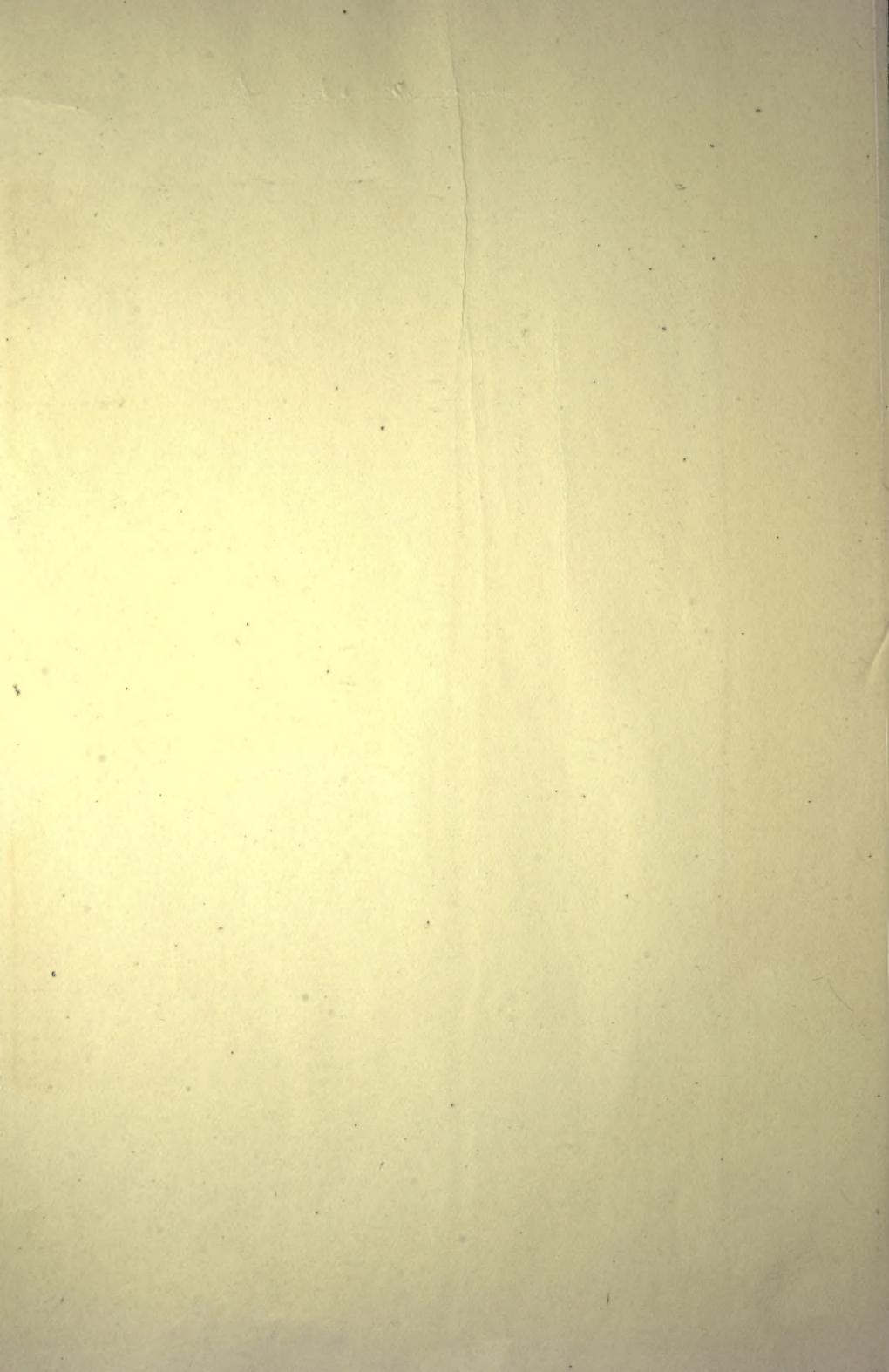
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